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Selections.

TRUMBULL'S CONFISCATION BILL.

HIS EXPOSITION AND DEFENCE THEREOF.

In the U. S. Senate, Dec. 5.

Mr. Trumbull (Rep., Ill.) introduced a bill confiscating the property and giving freedom to the slaves of rebels. He said: In presenting this bill to the consideration of the Senate, I desire to accompany it with some remarks explanatory of its character and the principles on which it is based. As its title imports, it is a bill for confiscating the property and giving freedom to the slaves of rebels. It provides for the absolute and complete forfeiture forever to the United States of every species of property, real and personal, and wheresoever situated within the United States, belonging to persons beyond the jurisdiction of the United States, or beyond the reach of civil process in the ordinary mode of judicial proceeding, in consequence of the present rebellion, who, during its existence, shall take up arms against the United States, or in any wise aid or abet the rebellion. This forfeiture to be enforced against property in the rebellious districts through the military power, and against property in other portions of the United States in which the judicial power is not obstructed by the rebellion, through the courts, and the proceeds of the property of each individual seized and forfeited, subject to the past claims of his loyal creditors, to be held for the benefit of loyal citizens despoiled of their property by the rebellion, and to defray the expenses incurred in its suppression. The bill also forfeits the claims of all rebels and those who give them aid and comfort, to the persons they hold in slavery, declares the slaves thus forfeited free, and makes it the duty of the President to provide for the colonization of such of them as may be willing to go, in some tropical country, where they may have the protection of the government and be secured in all the rights and privileges of freemen. The property belonging to traitors, or those giving them comfort, who may be convicted by the judicial tribunals, is to be forfeited on their conviction, the realty for life, and the personal property forever. These are the main features of the bill I have introduced, accompanied with the details necessary to accomplish the objects indicated. It will be observed that a distinction is made in the mode of forfeiture of rebel property in districts under insurrectionary control, and that which may be found in districts within the reach of the process of law in its ordinary forms. The forfeiture in the one case to be enforced through the military, and in the other, through the judicial power. This is a matter of necessity, for it would be impossible to enforce the forfeiture through the courts in districts where the judicial power was overborne by the rebellion, and, if not impossible, it would, in my judgment, be clearly unconstitutional to enforce it in any other way in districts where the property seized was within the reach of legal process. So also in the case of a conviction for treason the property of the traitor within reach of the court can only be forfeited by the court—the personal forever, and the real estate, under the Constitution, for life only. The power of Congress to pass a bill of this character is, to my mind, unquestionable; but I do not place it on the ground which has been advanced in some quarters, that in times of war or rebellion the military is superior to the civil power; or, that in such times what persons may choose to call necessity is higher and above the Constitution. Necessity is the plea of tyrants, and if our Constitution cease to operate the moment a person charged with its observance thinks there is a necessity to violate it, it is of little value. So far from admitting the superiority of the military over the civil power in time of war, or that there is any necessity that it should be so, I hold that under our Constitution the military is as much subject to the control of the civil power in war as in peace. The powers of government under our system are three, of which the military is not one. It is merely incident to the others, and subject to one of these, the legislative, without whose permission it can have no existence, and when called into being by the action of Congress, it is by the Constitution expressly made subject to such rules as Congress shall prescribe for its government. When, therefore, our armies, to raise and support which Congress has express authority under the Constitution, go forth to suppress insurrection, and in doing so shoot down rebels and desolate their abodes, as they constitutionally may, they are as much subordinate to the civil power as when engaged in a holiday parade in time of peace; and contraband property seized and appropriated by the military in insurrectionary districts in suppression of the rebellion is as legitimately taken as if condemned to forfeiture by the judicial authorities in districts in which judicial process was not obstructed. I want no other authority for putting down even this gigantic rebellion than such as may be derived from the Constitution properly interpreted. It is equal even to this great emergency, and the more we study its provisions, the more it is tried in troublous times, the greater will be our admiration for the instrument and our admiration for its authors. As unpopular as the avowal may be for the moment among the thoughtless, I here declare that I am for suppressing this monstrous rebellion according to law, and in no other way, and I believe that Congress has only to discharge its duty, and the army perform its with energy and activity, to bring the war to a speedy and successful issue. We are fighting to maintain the Constitution, and it especially becomes us, in appealing to the people to come to its rescue, not to violate it ourselves. How are we better than the rebels if both alike set at naught the Constitution? I warn my countrymen who stand ready to tolerate any act done in good faith for the suppression of the rebellion, not to sanction usurpations of power which may hereafter become precedents for the destruction of constitutional liberty. The Constitution declares that Congress shall have power "to declare war" and "make rules concerning captures on land and water"; "to raise and support armies"; "to provide and maintain a navy; to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces; to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," and "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." Acting under these grants of power, Congress has provided for bringing into service more than half a million of men, who are now engaged in suppressing the insurrection, and has, to some extent, made rules for the government of these forces, which, so far as they go, are obligatory on them; but, in the absence of any regulation as to how the army is to be used in suppressing the insurrection, its commander would be at liberty to make such use of it, consistent with the rules of civilized warfare, as he believed must be conducive to the service of the State, and best calculated to secure the end for which it was called into being, upon the principle that every man intrusted with an employment or duty is presumed to be invested with all the power necessary to enable him to perform the service. Hence the power of the army in the suppression of the insurrection, to seize, imprison, or shoot the insurgents; to desolate the country they occupy; to seize, appropriate for the time being their property, and free the persons they hold in bondage, is as ample and complete under the Constitution as that of a court, in peaceful times, to arrest, imprison, try, and execute a murderer. That the judicial tribunals have no right or power to interfere with the army in the exercise of its powers in suppressing an insurrection, either by issuing writs of *habeas corpus*, or otherwise, is apparent from the fact that the only ground on which the military authority can be invoked at all is, that the judicial tribunals, being overborne, are incompetent to the task. The judicial authority ceases at the very point where the military begins. It may be, and often is, a delicate question to determine this particular point, and decide in what localities the military, and in what judicial authority should have sway. This the Constitution has left to be provided for by Congress, by declaring that it shall have power to call forth the militia to suppress insurrection; and Congress, soon after the adoption of the Constitution, passed an act authorizing the President to call forth the militia for that purpose whenever the laws of the United States were obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and by an act passed at the first session of the present Congress, the President is authorized, in certain cases, to declare the inhabitants of a State, or part thereof, in a state of insurrection, and make use of the army to suppress it. The responsibility, therefore, of determining when and in what districts of the United States the military power may be used to suppress the rebellion is devolved by Congress on the Executive, and when the military power is called into requisition, the judicial authority can no more interfere with its action than can the military with the judicial tribunals in time of peace. Under certain circumstances, either may be called to the aid of the other. The courts sometimes make use of the military in aid of the execution of their powers, and the military would doubtless have like authority to make use of the aid of judicial tribunals in districts under insurrectionary control, should they be deemed a proper means by the military power to aid in suppressing the rebellion. In each case the power called to the aid of the other, whether it be the military in time of peace to the assistance of the judicial, or the judicial in times of rebellion to the assistance of the military, would be subordinate to the power making the call. In accordance with these principles, it has been my object in framing the bill under consideration to distinguish between the property on which the military may operate, and that subject to judicial control, and clearly to define the jurisdiction of each, confining the seizure and forfeiture of property situated in districts of the United States under insurrectionary control to the military power, and its condemnation and forfeiture in other portions of the United States to the judicial power. Whichever first takes hold of the property within its jurisdiction would, upon principles of comity, retain possession till its final disposition, upon the same principle that of two courts of concurrent jurisdiction, the one which first gets possession of a case affecting either persons or property is entitled to retain jurisdiction until its final disposition. It is upon this principle also that persons captured by the military authorities in insurrectionary districts may still be retained as prisoners by the military power, without interference with the courts, till their cases are finally disposed of, notwithstanding they may be for purposes of safety, or other reasons of State, brought within districts where the judicial power is in full operation. Having shown that the military called forth under the Constitution to suppress an insurrection may be vested with all the power necessary to the end, consistent with the usages of civilized warfare, it follows that if hostile armies may ever confiscate an enemy's property, the rights of the United States to do it in the case of the rebels is unquestionable, for surely no war was ever more atrocious than the one now being waged by the rebels for the overthrow of this government. They surely cannot complain of treatment we would have a right to extend to foreign armies. The right of seizure and confiscation of the property of the enemy as prize of war is a settled question of international law, which has been affirmed by our own Supreme Court. In the case of Brown agt. the United States, reported in the eighth Cranch, the Court says: "Respecting the power of government, no doubt is entertained. The war gives to the sovereign full right to take the persons and confiscate the property of the enemy wherever found, is conceded. The mitigations of this rigid rule, which the humane and wise policy of modern times has introduced to practice, will more or less affect the exercise of this right, but cannot impair the right itself. That remains undiminished, and when the sovereign authority shall choose to bring it into operation, the judicial department must give effect to its will. But until that will shall be expressed, no power of condemnation can exist in the court." That case also decides "that the power of confiscating enemy's property is in the Legislature." Wheaton, in commenting on the case, says: "The property cannot be seized and condemned as prize of war, without some legislative act expressly authorizing its confiscation. The Court held that the law of Congress declaring war was not such an act. That declaration did not, by its own operation, so vest the property of the enemy in the government as to support judicial proceedings for its seizure and confiscation. It vested only a right to confiscate, the assertion of which depended on the will of the sovereign power." In regard to the transfer of private rights of property, Wheaton holds this further language: "It is competent for the National authority to work a transmutation, total or partial, of the property belonging to the vanquished party, and if actually confiscated, the fact must be taken for right. But to work for such a transfer of proprietary rights, some positive and unequivocal act of confiscation is essential." Most of the nations of Europe acquired title to territory they possess by conquests, and private persons have derived their titles from that of the government thus obtained. According to the modern usage of nations, private property of alien enemies on land has not generally been forfeited; but the right of forfeiture is unquestionable, and may be exercised, if necessary, to secure the just ends of the war, or in retaliation for forfeitures by the enemy. The rebels, wherever they have the power, have seized and confiscated the property of loyal men, and this, according even to modern usage, as between independent nations, would give to the United States the right to confiscate in turn. Much more would they possess that right as against rebels who have causelessly taken up arms against the government. The right to free the slaves of rebels would be equally clear with that to confiscate their property generally, for it is as property they profess to hold them; but as one of the most efficient means for attaining the ends for which the armies of the Union have been called forth, the right to restore to them the God-given liberty of which they have been unjustly deprived is doubly clear. It only remains to inquire whether, in making use of lawful means to crush this wicked rebellion, it is policy to confiscate the property of rebels, and take from them the support of unrequited labor. Can there be a question on this point? Who does not know that treason has gained strength by the leniency with which it has been treated? We have dallied with it quite too long already. Instead of being looked upon as the worst of crimes, as it really is, it has come to be regarded as a trivial offense, to be atoned for by a promise to do so no more. The despoilers of loyal citizens, the conspirators against the peace of a nation, the plunderers of public property, the assassins of liberty, when they have fallen into our hands, have been suffered to escape on taking an oath of allegiance, which many have not scrupled to violate the first opportunity. Thousands of industrious and enterprising men have been ruined by this rebellion. More than twenty millions of people, now contributing of their means and their blood to its suppression; more than half a million of men—as noble spirits as ever trod the earth in martial array—now encamped in tents, and undergoing all the hardships of winter campaign; thousands of others, now confined in prisons, and some in dungeons, by the rebels; the blood of the disinterested, the noble-hearted, the dauntless, the heroic Lyon; of the gifted, the eloquent, the brave and patriotic Baker; and of the hundreds of other loyal citizens and true men, shed by rebel hands, still uplifted for the slaughter of thousands more, and the destruction of free government; these, and a thousand other considerations, all demand that the authors of these calamities, and others yet to follow, if they have the power to inflict them, should be made to suffer, both in their persons and their property, for the enormous crimes they have been and are committing against private rights and public liberty. Besides, sir, not to confiscate the property of rebels is to offer a premium to disloyalty, so long as they, wherever in power, confiscate the property of loyal citizens. Under such a policy the rebel's property is safe, let who will triumph, while the man true to his allegiance, his country, and his flag, is, if within their power, despoiled of all he possesses. Under such a policy, the path of safety for property is to put it on the road to treason. Is it any wonder that under such a policy treason, which at first had but a partial foothold in such States as Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia, has spread till in some of them it now has complete possession. The loyal citizen in all the States where the rebels have sway knows that the penalty for an avowal of his allegiance to his country is the forfeiture of all he has, while if he forswears his allegiance his property is alike protected by friend and foe. If we would bring this war to a successful issue, it is high time it was made as terrible to the enemies as to the friends of the Republic. Mercy and security to conspirators and rebels in arms against the government are cruelty and peril to loyal citizens struggling for the preservation of the Union and maintenance of constitutional liberty. They who deny their allegiance to the government have no right to claim its protection. Let the government cease to afford it; deal with them and their property as their crimes deserve; prosecute the war with vigor, and it will soon be brought to a successful issue. It cannot be that twenty millions of people, armed in defence of constitutional liberty, are to be overcome by less than one-fourth their number fighting for the overthrow of free government, the establishment of an aristocracy, and the perpetuation and spread of human slavery. But while fighting this battle in behalf of constitutional liberty, it behooves us especially to see to it that the Constitution receives no detriment at our hands. We will have gained but little in suppressing the insurrection if it be at the expense of the Constitution, for the chains which the bondman wears are none the lighter because they were pressed by his own and not another's hands. As we expect to come out of this contest with our flag full and complete in all its proportions, not a stripe erased or a star obscured, so let us preserve the Constitution, perfect in all its parts, with all its guarantees for the protection of life and liberty unimpaired, and the instrument itself rendered doubly dear from the fact that it has been sacredly maintained and proven equal to every emergency, under circumstances the most trying to which a nation was ever subjected. Then, when this struggle is over, we will have an assurance that our government is stronger than ever before, and that constitutional liberty is established on a foundation which no human power will ever be able to subvert.

Without any special act of Congress, I presume no one questions that our military commanders, in the prosecution of the war in insurrectionary districts, may for the time being seize and make use of the property of the rebels and their slaves, but on the restoration of peace the right of the owners would revive. Hence, if we would have uniformity of action among the commanders of our armies, and forfeit forever the property of rebels and their claims to the service of their fellow-men, it must be done by act of Congress.

The bill was ordered to be printed and referred to the Judiciary Committee.

MR. GURLEY'S CONFISCATION BILL.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 8, 1861.

The bill which Mr. Gurley of Ohio will offer in the House to-morrow declares all rebel property confiscated, and all slaves belonging to rebels free, and provides for the appointment of Commissioners in each rebel State to carry out the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves in a systematic and orderly manner, and to take charge of such slaves and employ them in the service of the United States at reasonable wages, and in transporting to Florida such as may not be needed for the public service, and to apprentice them there for not more than six years, at reasonable wages, to loyal proprietors of lands; after which term of six years they shall be entirely free. Florida is to be occupied by United States forces as soon and as far as is practicable, and the estates of rebels are to be sold by Commissioners to loyal purchasers, and the slaves of loyal citizens purchased and paid for out of the confiscation fund. It is to be governed by military law, and as a Territory, until it shall have sufficient loyal white inhabitants to entitle it to a representative in Congress, when it may form a State government and a Constitution excluding slavery. The bill is carefully drawn, and provides ample safeguards against fraud, and for the compensation of loyal creditors and sufferers by the rebellion, who are to be paid out of the confiscation fund.—*Tribune.*

SPEECH OF GEN. LANE IN BOSTON.

From The Liberator.

Last Saturday forenoon, Gen. James H. Lane, of Kansas, addressed a large audience at Tremont Temple. Notwithstanding the unfavorable weather, the Temple was well filled, and among the audience were many of our prominent citizens.

The speaker came upon the platform soon after eleven o'clock, accompanied by several prominent anti-slavery gentlemen, and was received with hearty applause.

F. W. Bird, Esq., of Walpole, called the meeting to order, and said that Gen. Lane had been detained by paying his first visit to Capt. Wilkes (applause). He recommended Mr. Otis Clapp for Chairman, and he was appointed.

Upon taking the chair, Mr. Clapp said that desperate diseases required strong remedies, and without any further preliminary remark, introduced Gen. Lane, who was again greeted with cheers.

Gen. Lane said he felt embarrassed in addressing gentlemen in the habit of hearing eloquent and classic speeches. When he set out in life, his mother said there was nothing to prevent his success but his unconquerable modesty. But he desired to return to the people of Boston the thanks of the people of Kansas for past generosity, which made that State free (applause). The children of Kansas are taught gratitude to those who stood by them in 1855 and 1856.

He asked how much reverence there was in this assembly for slavery? (Answers from the audience —"None!") Born in a slave State, and nursed by a slave, he had now got rid of what reverence he ever had for it (applause). My memory runneth not to the time when slavery did not threaten the Union. The threats of the South, the stuffing of ballot-boxes, the raising of black flags in Kansas bearing the word "Murder!" and the efforts of the late Administration to destroy the government, followed by the attack on Sumter, and the assassination of your gallant sons in the streets of Baltimore, must destroy all respect for it.

We want a speedy crushing out of rebellion (applause) and a permanent peace. He is a coward who wants a peace patched up with the knowledge that our children will have this battle to fight over again (loud and repeated applause). At last, we have the army and navy that can crush out the rebellion, but it cannot be done without removing the disease. All know that slavery is the disease, and that the war is only waged for slavery. Where is the man who would attempt a purification without curing the disease? He would be called a quack. The time has gone by for any one to attempt to show that the war is not waged for slavery. Ask the soldiers of Gen. Price what they are fighting for? they will answer "slavery." Ask the soldiers of Gen. Halleck, and they will make the same answer.

"Slavery" is written on their banners, and what is ours—is it not substantially the same, when we war for the old Union? The time has gone by to attempt to convince men that the war is waged for nothing but slavery. We all know it. When it is attempted to arouse your sympathies for the slaves of the Union men, remember that there are no Union men in secession communities. They are driven out, and their slaves are used as are those of secession owners. When they say that loyal men can control their slaves in secession neighborhoods, they say that which is not true. I have given to Union men receipts for the loss of slaves, caused by the march of the Kansas brigade. These very slaves had been used for months by the traitors of Missouri by force. These certificates came back to me, directing me to give up those slaves to the bearers. An order of the government to give up loyal citizens for the benefit of traitors! Return them to slavery! Me! The people of Kansas return them to slavery! No, sir! (Great cheering, and cries of "good!" "good!") He sought his commander, and told him his order was illegitimate, and that he would not obey it (cheers).

How many soldiers' lives are you willing to give to maintain slavery? ("None!") As for myself, I will not shed a single drop of blood to save the accursed system.

The slaves can be easily won over by kindness. When the Kansas Brigade first went into Missouri, the slaves were a "little off." They had been told all sorts of stories as to the treatment they would receive from "Lane's men." We had a few contrabands, however, who soon gave them better information, and the slaves flocked into our camp. Many of them were sent to Kansas, and went to work there.

If we are prosecuting this war to maintain slavery and crush treason, it will require two armies, and the slavery preserving army will have to be very careful how it strikes, as this institution of slavery has a very delicate organization. I consider its end as certain, whatever policy is pursued, because slavery cannot stand in a civil war.

But we are fighting to avoid bloodshed as far as possible, and to bring the contest to an end as soon as possible. If we are fighting to whip the South, let us make use of all the means that are placed in our power. Arm the negro against the negro. I am tempted to give a homely illustration of my position ("go ahead"). When I went to school, the boys used to have a fight every Saturday afternoon to see which was the smartest. Well, I had won my way next to the head (laughter). The champion was a big fellow, three years older than me, named Joe Darragh—I shall never forget his name as long as I live (laughter). When we "fit," we "fit" to win. It was none of your hitting above the belt, but regular scratching and gouging. For a long time I came off—well, second best, with him. One day he went in bathing, and received a severe bruise below his knee. I got him to show me the exact locality of the bruise (laughter), and the next Saturday I called him out to fight (continued merriment). I watched my opportunity, and brought my boot against the bruise, when Joe bellowed like a calf, and cried "enough." I went to the head (great laughter). The rebellion has a sorer spot than "Joe Darragh's" bruise, and a good blow on it would be effectual.

If the proper policy had been pursued at Beaufort in regard to the slaves, there would have been a howl in rebeldom before this time. The whole slave population would have been in motion towards freedom, and everything that stood in their path would be swept away (applause). You ask, would not that be cruel? I say, if we are to carry on this war to kill our own people instead of the rebels, we had better stop now. If it be inhuman, they have means to prevent it; let them return to their allegiance, and they shall be kindly received. But if the war is to be continued, we will use all the means in our power to conquer them (cheers). This war shall never close while the shackles remain upon one slave (great applause).

But we can't admit the slaves within our lines because they will betray us. That's a lie! I would like to ask Gen. Halleck where he learnt that slaves betrayed our troops. (A voice—"At Washington.") We had in our Brigade five hundred slaves, and we received more valuable information from them as to the movements of the enemy than from all other sources besides. They are faithful and grateful. They would die a thousand deaths rather than betray one secret of their liberators. It is not enough to replace upon their limbs the shackles—they must be lied about. Gen. Halleck's experience may be different from mine; but where did he get his experience? Don't understand me as denouncing Gen. Halleck; but I have been taught to denounce wrong—to vindicate the weak—and when I fail to do it, may God condemn me to the infernal regions. I have never seen Gen. Halleck—he is a stranger to me; but he has made a statement that I know to be false (applause).

I have half a mind to relate an anecdote to show how the slaveholders cling to their property. (Voices —"Do it; do it.") Well, I will. We were marching to Springfield—I was in the rear of the column—when I was informed by one of my men that a woman in great distress wanted to see me. I told him to bring her to me, and he did. She was a big, brawny woman—fat, and over forty—and was crying. I asked her what the matter was. She said, "My two sons have joined the Confederate army, and now your soldiers have taken my two niggers." Said I, "My good woman, that is not the worst thing that could happen to you. I am on the track of your sons, and I shall probably catch them in a day or two, and hang them" (laughter). She threw her arms about my neck, and said, "Gen. Lane, you may do what you want with my sons, if you'll only return the niggers" (great laughter). I disengaged myself from her embrace, but didn't promise to return her niggers.

The secessionists have four thousand Indians in their ranks. Last week they took three of my men, tied them to trees, and riddled them with balls. What should be done with these Indians? (A Voice —"Swear them in, and let them go.") Yes. Missouri has been sworn over not less than three times already (laughter).

I desire to say something in behalf of the Kansas Brigade. They are charged with being "Jay-hawkers." I say many of them are men of principle—godly men. Sturgis, after being with the Brigade a short time, called it a damned (I don't know as I ought to say it, as I see the reporters here) fanatical, temperance Brigade. I have been with them three months, and I never saw a man intoxicated. At Osceola they knocked the heads out of five hundred barrels of whiskey, and never touched a drop. The first order issued to that Brigade made it an offence punishable with death for any soldier to enter a private house without permission of a superior officer. If we are "Jaw-hawkers," we are so for you, through the government. My soldiers have taken thousands of sacks of salt from the storehouses of Missouri, and distributed it among the loyal men of the State. I saw Adj.-Gen. Thomas's charge against me before it was made public, and I immediately sat down and wrote to Gen. Hunter, pronouncing the charge false and scandalous, and demanding an investigation (applause). It is said that we stole women and children's clothing. In answer to that I can only say that I am not responsible if niggers are men (laughter). A number of slaves, men, women and children, took it into their heads, in a certain instance, to be free, and they furnished themselves with a portion of the clothing of their former owners. They made a fair division, I have no doubt. I was not responsible (laughter). All I did was to see that the white babies did not deprive the black babies of their clothing (continued laughter).

The only way we can bring this contest to a successful issue is by striking directly and with all our power at the foundation. I would oppose bowie-knife to bowie-knife, Indian to Indian, nigger to nigger, and freedom to slavery (cheers). If you do not like that plan, furnish a substitute, equally powerful, for closing the war. Our present policy will cause the war to drag along for years. You cannot with the same army crush out treason and preserve slavery. There must be two armies to do that, and it will cost more to preserve slavery than to crush out treason. Write "Freedom," then, on all your banners, and the spirit of the old Crusaders will animate your armies, firmness and steadiness will be imparted to your purpose, victory will be gained, and a permanent peace secured.

The meeting broke up with cheers for "Gen. Lane and the Kansas Brigade, and Gen. Fremont."

THE CONTRABANDS IN WASHINGTON JAIL.

Washington, Wednesday, Dec. 4, 1861.

Senator Wilson, in the course of his remarks today, referred to a report made to Provost-Marshal Porter, by Detective Allen, in the employ of the government, on the condition of "contrabands" in Washington Jail. It is dated Nov. 18, and says:

"I find incarcerated in the city jail in this city, in the midst of filth, vermin, and contagious diseases, on a cold stone floor, many without shoes, nearly all without sufficient clothing, bedding, or fire, and all in a half-starving condition, 60 colored persons, male and female, confined because—in the language of their commitments—they were suspected of being runaways, and no proofs had been adduced that they were not runaways. There are a number of cases of free-born men, such as that of John Aleslock *alias* Welford, committed May 10, 1861, who states that he is a freeman of about 24 years of age, born in Albemarle County, Va.; has a wife and child in Charlottesville, free; left home because they were taking up all free colored persons, and compelling them to go in the front of battle, and came direct to Washington; was taken up on the second day after his arrival, while crossing the aqueduct, the constable saying that he would have to keep him a year and then sell him to pay his fees; a month ago he understood the fees amounted to $60; he has had no change of clothing since he came here; he hasn't had enough to eat. Richard Oliver, committed Aug. 8; born free in Baltimore; came to Washington with the 21st Pennsylvania Regiment; was arrested on the way with them to Georgetown; John Matthews, committed July 26; born in the District, 24 years old, slave of Mrs. White. Hired out to Company C, 2d Ohio, as cook; staid with them till they went home. On the day he was to be paid he was arrested. No objection to returning to Mrs. White. Bill Bowie, committed Sept. 21 by John H. Newman; born in St. Paul, Minnesota, aged about 21; left last summer with 1st Minnesota as cook for the Captain and First Lieutenant of Company A; taken up in Georgetown a runaway when going to the regiment. He was not allowed to send there for proofs of freedom. The constable said a pass would make no difference, as runaways frequently got them from regiments. Eliza A. West has 12 children. Her master is a rebel. She left because she was struck with a poker by her master, and was refused to let go to Church. One or two miscellaneous cases may be added."

Statements from each of the sixty follow, filling over fifty pages. In some cases the slaves say that they have no objection to returning to their masters —why, let any one tell us?

"John Davis, born in Alexandria County, committed Aug. 5; always a slave of Col. George Minor; came with his mother, who was Minor's housekeeper, to town with a load of wood, which they sold; Drake de Kay and Gen. Mansfield's aid, to whom he applied for a pass, advised him not to go back, as his master was a rebel. After staying two days in Georgetown they went again for a pass.

"Finding the office crowded, he carried the baggage to the depot for soldiers, and was arrested on the way; he would rather return to Col. Minor than stay in the horrid jail; six are confined in a room 6 by 10; nearly all are sick with measles; they have had no change of clothing for three months; many, like John Davis, belonged to masters who had joined the rebel army; others belonged to masters who had sent their sons; others still to those who supplied rebels with provisions, clothing, or food; while others fled rather than go to work on the Manasssas fortifications; some of these were from Virginia, others from Maryland; for example: Camille Jones, committed Oct. 24, was born in Charles County, Md., a slave of Philip Linton, once of Washington, now in the rebel army; heard him say he wished Lincoln dead; hired her at $7 a month; was taken up while ironing at Mrs. Jackson's by two men, who said they were instructed by her "boss" to take her to jail for safe keeping, as her sister had run away, and he was afraid she would; she has had two children, one sold South; doesn't know the whereabout of the other, nine years old, who was hired out for victuals and clothes when old enough to wean, because he'd bring more. Edward Parker, committed Aug. 15, slave of John A. Washington; was raised at Mount Vernon; left because ordered by the overseeer to go to Manassas to wait upon master and Gen. Lee; had heard among the colored folks that negroes were taken to fight; thought he'd try the chances at the North; two of his master's slaves working on the Manassas entrenchments came to this city with the Fire Zouaves, and were arrested when trying to go to New York with them; John Courtee, committed Oct. 27, aged 20, living in Anne Arundel County, Md.; mistress gave him to her grandson-in-law, Gustavus Bird, minister, to work until 25, and then be freed; has been living with his father, Dr. Bird, in Anne Arundel County, Md., who employed his slaves in making up things to send to the rebel army, and in helping rebel officers who came to recruit; was seized by three men near the Navy Yard bridge, who seemed to be on the watch. He was tied, after chasing with pistols and dogs, one of whom held him until the men came up. Richard Diggs was born in Prince George County, Md.; 22 years old; has lived at Springfield Station, Fairfax Court House, Va.; his master left Alexandria on the day the Zouaves entered the place; his master is a strong secessionist, and he believes that he is in the rebel army; he went to visit his sister in Prince George County, and was arrested on the way; would rather be a free man and earn his own living than be a slave. Several of these slaves of the rebels subsequently took service with various regiments, and were in their employ or that of the government when arrested; for instance: George Patrick Henry, committed Aug. 31, 21 years old, slave of Bailey Howard, rebel, of Alexandria; left him the night before the Zouaves came; his master the next day left for Fairfax. Henry became the Zouaves' cook; he was near them at Bull Run, and had to dodge cannon balls; he intended to go to New York with them, but was stopped; he worked on government mule pens a month, and was arrested one evening; he told the constable he was in the employ of the government, and came from Virginia; James Jackson, committed Aug. 8, 33 years old, slave of Albert G. Minor, Fairfax County, Va., who is a Captain in the rebel army, joining when the Zouaves entered Alexandria; James refused to go, although his master threatened to shoot him, and went to Col. Taylor, 3d New Jersey, to whom he acted as guide; he came to Washington with Col. Taylor's pass, and was arrested on his return.

"Harriet Wilson, born in Richmond, between 50 and 60 years old, slave of Mrs. Archer, mother of ex-Senator Morton's wife, Fla. She refused to go to Richmond with her mistress. Alfred Savles, committed Sept. 28, 20 years old, born in Bladensburg, was the slave of Harry Warren, who, at his death, freed him. The sheriff who administered the estate, said he must work a year longer. He did so, when the sheriff said he must work two years more, and kept working him until at last he whipped him so that he ran away. William Cole, committed July 28, 21 years old, belonged to Anna Harding, of Northumberland Co., Va. She is a violent secessionist and compelled her son, under age, to join the Southern army. He was hired out to a secessionist, whose two sons were about starting for the rebel army, and going to take Cole along, who preferred to run away, oystering on the Potomac. He was brought up to the city by a pilot and put in jail. He suffers from the cold, having only one suit of summer clothing. He has not had half enough to eat, and wants freedom and the chance to work."

The police of this city have received instruction from Secretary Seward to discontinue sending contrabands to jail, and to treat them as under military protection.—*Cor. Tribune.*

IMPORTANT GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

SLAVES TO BE SET TO WORK FOR WAGES.

Treasury Department, Saturday, Nov. 30, 1861.

In order to the security and proper disposition of the productions of the soil, and all other property found within the limits of States, or parts of States, declared to be in insurrection against the United States, and now occupied, or to be hereafter occupied, by the troops and authority of the Union, the following regulations are established:

There shall be appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approbation of the President, agents to reside at such points or places as are, or may be, occupied by the forces of the United States, whose duties shall be to secure and prepare for market the cotton and such other products and property as may be found or brought within the lines of the army or under the control of the Federal authorities.

To enable such agents to fulfil the duties devolved upon them, the military and naval authorities, under proper instructions, will render such military protection and aid as may be required, to carry out the intentions of the Department. Persons held to service for life under State laws, who may be found within such limits, may be employed by the agent, who will prepare lists, embracing the names, sex and condition of such persons, and as near as may be, their respective ages, together with the name of any person claiming their services, which lists shall be in triplicate, one for the military commandant, one for the files of the agent, and one to be immediately forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury. The persons so listed will be organized for systematized labor in securing and preparing for market the cotton, rice and other products found within the territory brought under Federal control. Pay-rolls will be prepared and a strict account of the labor daily performed by each person entered thereon, for which a proper compensation shall be allowed and paid to the laborers. The amount of such compensation will be fixed in proportion to the service rendered by the agent, and approved by the military commandant and by the Secretary of the Treasury. An inventory of all horses, mules and other stock, vehicles of transportation, and other property will be carefully made, and a copy transmitted to the Secretary of the Treasury signed by such agent.

A record of all products taken possession of will be made, and those of each plantation kept distinct. When prepared for shipment, the packages from the several plantations will be plainly marked and numbered, so as to be easily distinguished. An account of all provisions, of whatever character, found on such plantation, will be taken, and such provisions will be used so far as may be necessary for the sustenance of the laborers thereon. Any deficiencies of subsistence will be supplied by the United States Commissary, upon the requisition of the agent to whom they will be charged, and for which he will account. The cotton and other articles then prepared for market, shall be shipped to New York, and, so far as practicable, by the returning government transports, and all shipments shall be consigned to the designated agent at New York, unless otherwise specially directed by the Secretary of the Treasury. A carefully detailed account will be kept by the agent of all supplies furnished by the government, and of all expenditures made. Each agent will transmit a weekly report of his proceedings to the Secretary of the Treasury, and render his accounts in duplicate monthly for settlement.

All requisitions, bills of lading and invoices will be countersigned by the military commander, or by such officer as he may designate for the purpose. Each agent will so transact his business and keep his accounts that as little injury as possible may accrue to private citizens who may maintain, or may within reasonable time resume the character of loyal citizens of the United States.

FUGITIVE SLAVES UNDER MILITARY PROTECTION.

Department of State, Washington, Dec. 4, 1861.

To Major-General George B. McClellan, Washington:

General: I am directed by the President to call your attention to the following subject: Persons claimed to be held to service or labor under the laws of the State of Virginia, and actually employed in hostile service against the government of the United States, frequently escape from the lines of the enemy's forces, and are received within the lines of the army of the Potomac. This Department understands that such persons afterwards coming into the city of Washington are liable to be arrested by the city police, upon the presumption, arising from color, that they are fugitives from service or labor. By the fourth section of the Act of Congress, approved Aug. 6, 1861, entitled "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," such hostile employment is made a full and sufficient answer to any further claim to service or labor. Persons thus employed, and escaping, are received into the military protection of the United States, and their arrest as fugitives from labor or service should be immediately followed by the military arrest of the parties making the seizure.

Copies of this communication will be sent to the Mayor of the city of Washington and to the Marshal of the District of Columbia, that any collision between the military and civil authorities may be avoided.

I am, General, your very obedient servant,

William H. Seward.

THE PARTITION OF VIRGINIA.

The suggestion of the Secretary of War for a reconstruction of the boundaries of Virginia, Maryland and Delaware, must soon become a prominent topic of discussion. At best the question cannot be postponed beyond the time when Western Virginia makes its application to Congress for recognition as a separate State. The people of that region have already, by an almost unanimous vote, decided for such separation, have fixed upon their boundaries, and have simply to form their Constitution, which they are about doing, to be in a condition to claim the action of Congress under that section of the Federal Constitution which provides that any State may be formed from a new State or States, with the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned and of Congress. The Legislature, now in session at Wheeling, is the legal Legislature, and the only legal one, of the Old Dominion, every form of law having been complied with in its creation. It acts for the entire original State, and the two Senators elected by it, and now serving in Washington, legally represent the old State and no other. The consent, then, of the Virginia Legislature to the new State is obtained. Will Congress give its consent?

In the shape in which it has hitherto presented itself, we can safely answer No. It is not the policy of the Federal government to create more small States. Western Virginia, as now defined, contains a population under three hundred thousand—a number less than any State now existing, save Delaware and Rhode Island—and in area it does not half equal the area of any State which was ever admitted by Congress, Vermont excepted, which exception is too old to have any weight. Congress, in view of the equality of senatorial representation, has always recognized the injustice of multiplying small States. It has sought to give wide dimensions to every new member of the Union. There is nothing in the case of Western Virginia to justify a departure from this policy.

When, then, the application of Western Virginia comes before Congress, the inquiry will be made whether arrangements cannot be effected to enlarge its boundaries by accessions from some contiguous State. If this is to be done at all, we doubt whether any more just or expedient arrangement could be made than that suggested by the Secretary, namely: to enlarge Western Virginia so as to embrace Middle Virginia, bounded by the Blue Ridge on the east, and Alleghany and Washington counties in Maryland—to enlarge Delaware by attaching to it all that part of Maryland and Virginia east of Chesapeake Bay—and to recompense Maryland for these losses by joining to it all the residue of Virginia. This arrangement would make Western Virginia about the size of Ohio, Maryland about that of Indiana, and Delaware about that of Massachusetts. It would in great measure substitute natural for the present arbitrary boundaries, and would also vastly improve the symmetry of the States concerned. It would also have the great advantage of involving no increase in the number of States. The necessary multiplication of new States from the territory west of the Mississippi must in time make the Senate, at best, a somewhat unwieldy body, and any increase of the number on this side ought to be avoided.—*World.*

CHAINED CHIVALRY.

In the interesting letter from our correspondent at

they are anti-slavery men, and the Democrats because they are brave men and not cowards will approve of his doctrines. Only the men who are both hunkers and cowards will dissent, and these constitute a lean minority. Yet men will not set themselves against Mr. Lincoln, or try to embarrass him. Heaven knows that the mere attempt to save the Union without interfering with slavery is attended with embarrassments enough. Let the President try his experiment longer, if he is not already satisfied that it will prove a failure. But this feeling of enforced acquiescence will not keep Congress from action, or the press from criticism, or the people from political agitation. It ought not to. I believe Mr. Cameron and Mr. Welles, the head of the army and navy departments, are as well qualified to judge of the proper mode of suppressing the rebellion as Mr. Smith of the interior, or Mr. Bates of the law department, or Mr. Seward who, it would seem, never eats his breakfast, dinner, or supper, or smokes a cigar, without prophesying that peace will come before he next has occasion to perform the same ceremony. Of course all must yield to the President, but let us not despair that he will by and by get tired of attempting to save slavery and the Union at the same time.—*Boston Cor. Springfield Republican.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

WENDELL PHILLIPS will deliver a lecture on THE WAR, at the Cooper Institute, on THURSDAY EVENING, Dec. 19. Doors open at 7—lecture at 8. Tickets 25 cents, to be had at the Anti-Slavery Office.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair and National Bazaar.

THIS FAIR will be opened in the Large Saloon of the Assembly Buildings, corner of Tenth and Chestnut streets, Philadelphia, on TUESDAY EVENING, Dec. 17th, and will be continued during the following three days.

The usual assortment of articles displayed at these Fairs will be offered for sale at market prices. It has been the aim of the Managers to furnish a larger proportion than usual of such articles as always command a sale, that our customers may be able to assist in replenishing our treasury, without any greater expenditure of money than they would otherwise make elsewhere.

The attractiveness of these Fairs, and the opportunity which they furnish for social enjoyment and fraternal communion relative to the interests of our cause, have always been sufficient to fill our Saloons; and, on this occasion, the joy of such communion will be intensified by the glorious anticipation, now filling all our hearts, of the victory which seems about to crown and to end our thirty years war. We expect a large gathering of Pennsylvania Abolitionists, whose unwearied labors, through years of stern trial, have aided in producing that mighty change in public sentiment, which is, to-day, demonstrating itself in armed resistance to the despotism of the Slave Power.

The profits of our Fair will be devoted, as those of previous Fairs have been, to the dissemination of the doctrines held and taught by the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries; the only doctrines by which our present national revolution can be guided to a peaceful, safe and truly prosperous termination.

The price of admission will be 15 cents. Season Tickets, 50 cents. Children, half price. M. G.

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS.

CONGRESS has met, and the President has spoken. The utterances of the White House are not statesman-like in tone any more than elegant in expression. The Message is the development of a hand-to-mouth policy, which looks upon the evil of each day as sufficient for the same. But, then, no intelligent observer of affairs for the last nine months looked for anything else. An eye capable of seeing what remedies the diseases of the land require, and a hand firm and strong enough to administer them, were not expected of the worthy attorney who was transferred from the disputations of the County Court at Springfield to the arbitrament of those of the Nation. And the Nation has no right to complain. At least the North has not. It has never chosen its candidates—unless by accident, as in the case of Fremont—for their positive but their negative qualities. Not for what they were capable of doing, but for what they might be supposed by the other party capable of leaving undone. A President is not supposed to stand for anything substantial, now. Indeed, he cannot be anything of the kind. Pierce and Buchanan, indeed, knew what was required of them. Simple submission to every demand of slavery. But Mr. Lincoln is cut loose from this anchor, sure and steadfast, and drifts about with every day's breeze, but ever with the traditionary instinct of all politicians, that slavery is still the guiding star of the ship of State, which it is rashness, if not ruin, not to lay its course by. We are not inclined to criticize his Message with the severity dealt out to it by most of our anti-slavery contemporaries. A President is but the little man put on the top of the Capitol to tell which way the wind blows. He was whittled out for this purpose only, originally. It is too much to expect that he should always know which way he does point, when the wind, which had set in for so many years from the South, is chopping about at such a fearful rate. Still more, that he should be able to give it direction. We may be very sure that he cannot withstand the blast, from whichsoever quarter it blows, if it be but strong enough. A little rustiness may delay the movement a trifle, but in spite of it he must go spinning round at last as the wind listeth.

Although Mr. Lincoln does not seem to know, judging from his Message, that slavery has anything to do with provocation of this war, still he and his ministers give us some interesting statistics about ourselves. We do not know whether the London *Times* will be able to discern any proofs in these documents of the strength of the American nation, but the American nation is very well content with what it learns therein of its own resources. To raise an army of more than six hundred thousand men in less than five months, and a navy of commensurate force, both almost out of nothing, and to provide for the expense of these armaments wholly within our own frontiers is a legitimate source of National pride. That these armies may not have acquired the perfection of drill and discipline of the old establishments of Europe in a score of weeks, is very likely; but to say that they cannot attain all this in time is as absurd as to affirm that bad materials make better goods than the best. For it is admitted that the *personnel* of our rank and file is better than that of any of the European armies. The North has been taught its own strength and its own wealth. If it should be forced into any quarrel with foreign nations, it feels a capacity to grapple with the emergency such as it never felt before. We do not believe that there is any serious disposition on the part of any foreign nation—certainly not on that of any foreign government—to engage in any trial of arms with us. But we never felt so equal to such a possibility as we do now. And it cannot be denied that it is now a *possibility*. During the reign of slavery a European war was an impossibility. England might have bombarded New York, or whipped the Minister to St. James's at the cart's-tail from Charing Cross to the Tower, and no war would have followed. The slaveholders would never have permitted a quarrel with their best customer. But it is different now. Whether the nation conquer the rebels, or whether they extort their independence, the power of slavery will not be sufficient to control this question. And it cannot be disguised that a very bitter feeling is strengthening itself in the Northern mind towards England, nourished by the bile and venom flowing from English pens. We do not believe either nation will be foolish enough to compel a war; but the North certainly does not feel as if it would be the foolishest of the two, should one come. Without entering into the morality of the Protective System, which is a matter aside from our business, one thing must be said for it, and that is that it has made us independent of all the world for every necessary and almost every luxury of life. But these, we trust, are very unnecessary speculations, so we will let them pass.

Whatever we may think of the position of the President, that of Congress, judging from its earliest suggestions of action, is of a very hopeful and satisfactory kind. The movements of Mr. Eliot of Massachusetts, of Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania, of Mr. Gurley of Ohio, and of other members, are indicative of better times at hand. It seems that the men who are freshest from the people, and who may be believed to be the most fully informed with the popular spirit and feeling, are not afraid to look slavery in the face nor to denounce it as the blackest cause of the war and of all our disasters. The absolute question of the Abolition of Slavery under the War Power of the Constitution, with compensation to loyal masters, has been in more than one shape brought before the mind of Congress. The subordinate and ancillary questions of the slave-catching of our military officers, and of the confinement of men in our jail at Washington on suspicion of slavery, have also been brought up and put in train for regular discussion and adjudication. We cannot yet know how the general sense of the two Houses will be found when these questions come to the ordeal of a vote. But we are confident that it will reflect fairly the strengthening sense of the nation as to its duty in regard to slavery. This Congress is the body which has authorized the immense loans and taxes which the War makes necessary. It is, therefore, eminently their concern to see that the war is fought with spirit and resolution, and that it be not concluded in such a way as to be a virtual victory of the enemy. We see that the secession prints at the North, such as *The Journal of Commerce* here, and the Boston *Post* and *Courier*, threaten that in case Congress presumes to strike at the root of all our troubles, and to do the only thing which can give us victory in the field and permanent prosperity after the field is won, the monied classes at the North will refuse to furnish the sinews of war, and the officers and soldiers refuse to fight its battles any more. We believe the very opposite of all this is the truth. The capitalists are the very men who know the most accurately whence all the disturbance of the business of the country proceeds. They were willing to make any concessions to prevent its occurrence; but it being forced upon them by the insane folly of the slaveholders, the very instinct of property tells them that there can be no peace or prosperity till the causing mischief is destroyed.

As unjust we believe to be the aspersions thus cast on the brave men now in arms. That there is a certain scum and draff of officers and men—of officers more than men—who are swift and ready tools of slavery, and rejoice in hunting men for the mere pleasure of the chase, we know but too well. Who does not recollect the atrocious crime committed in the command of Gen. Kelley, if not by his command, whereby two negroes who had saved two National officers from death or captivity were seized and sent back into slavery! An enormity unparalleled in the history of Christian or pagan warfare. And every day, from certain regiments on the Potomac, wretches who have thrown themselves on the mercy and hospitality of the nation are delivered over to their tormentors! Nay, more, not only are they delivered over on demand, but search is made to find the masters to whose tender mercies they may be committed! These atrocities, surely, come within the scope of Congressional inquiry and action. Men like these, thus proving themselves unworthy of the name of officers and gentlemen, may surely have their uniforms stripped off their backs and the Nation relieved of the disgrace of employing them. The law, already proposed, of punishing the crime of returning fugitive slaves by officers of the army, cannot be too speedily passed or too rigorously enforced. Let this be the first business of Congress, for it is the instant abuse that calls for remedy. Then let a strict inquiry be instituted as to the parties guilty of these crimes, that they may be known, if they cannot be punished. The Congressional Inquiry of the Extra Session has done much to purify the Departments of traitors; let another do more by ridding the army of the baser and meaner sort of voluntary kidnappers. Let Congress auspicate its session by this righteous action, and that other delivering our jails of men guilty only of being black, and we are sure that the honest part of the Nation will bless it and bid it God-speed onward to wider and braver action.

A VICTIM OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

ON the fourth page will be found a brief letter from the Rev. George Gordon, written in the jail at Cleveland, Ohio, where he is incarcerated for a violation of the Fugitive Slave law; also his address to the Court before receiving sentence.

Mr. Gordon is a brother of the late Rev. Jos. Gordon, for many years the faithful and fearless editor of *The Free Presbyterian*. He is the President of Iberia (O.) College, a man of fine abilities and great moral worth. His address to the Court is worthy of his Scotch blood, being characterized by the genuine martyr spirit. The offence for which he was arraigned was committed September 20, 1860, when the town of Iberia was invaded by no less than eight slave-hunters, who divided themselves into three parties in order to take as many alleged slaves from as many different dwellings. One of these parties failed to find the man they were after, were pursued by the indignant people, taken to the woods and whipped. Mr. Gordon says:

"In the midst of their receiving a castigation I came up; was told they had received but little, and I stood by, consenting to their receiving from ten to fifteen lashes more. I then told the Deputy why he was chastised, the kind of men who did it, and that he had received but a small instalment, a mere taste of what he was endeavoring to inflict on men as good as he was. He humbly confessed the charge, said he would go home, resign his office, and do so no more."

"I came up, intending to go into Court, and submit to a trial one year ago, but was advised to go away, avoid the officers, and run the case into the new Administration. I consequently spent the winter in Canada, and returned and gave myself up a few days before Sumter was taken and the war begun. Nothing has been gained by the delay. The sentence runs to the extreme limit, in all except the imprisonment, and it would have been the full year but for the greater probability of a pardon. My case is, in a good many aspects, worse than was that of the Oberlin men. They were many, and could keep each other in company and countenance; I am alone, without the aid of numbers. They were men of mark, excited much interest, and had a continued run of visitors; I am obscure, and cannot claim or expect much notice. Their imprisonment took place when the country was quiet, had little else to think about, and consequently they drew a large share of public interest; now there is so much else to engross the public mind, that the wrongs of one obscure individual will receive little attention. They enjoyed the consolation that their sufferings were doing much to break the Slave Power and bring the country right. Now the people are possessed with the delusive idea that slavery is already in its death-pangs, and going into dissolution by its own acts. They had the freedom of the jail yard for health and recreation, and were taken as boarders into the Sheriff's family; the present Sheriff, Mr. Craw, is a gentlemanly man, but feels compelled (and no doubt rightly) to keep me in 'close confinement.' And, finally, they enlisted the interest of the Republican party, who perceived that their case furnished the raw material for a good deal of political capital; but now the party is in power, they wish to convince the loyal slaveholders that they are as faithful to the Fugitive Slave enactment, and as willing slave-catchers, as the Democrats. Hence, I am ground between the upper and nether millstone, the one of Republican truckling, the other of concealed secessionism."

Is it not a shame, that while the Slave Oligarchy is in open rebellion against the government, there can be found anywhere in the free States men so debased as to set in motion, on its behalf, the machinery of the diabolical Fugitive Slave law, and that even on the Western Reserve a minister of the gospel is subjected to fine and imprisonment for loving liberty and obeying the Golden Rule!

Mr. Gordon is entitled to the sympathy and pecuniary aid of the friends of humanity in every part of the country. They should memorialize the President promptly and earnestly for his release and the remission of his fine.

THE OCTOROON IN LONDON.

THE following letter of Mr. Bourcicault to the London *Times* is an illustration of the odd pro-slavery reaction which seems to have set in in England. Mr. B., it will be seen, is anything rather than an anti-slavery man; but, discerning as an artist the dramatic interest of some of the phases of slavery, he availed himself of the same to work up an effective play. It seems that this play, which had a great run in this city, with an audience half slaveholders and almost altogether pro-slavery, is too strong meat for the London public! Still, we trust and believe that this reaction is rather superficial and apparent than real and significant of a radical change of opinion, even among the playgoers.

THE OCTOROON.

To the Editor of The (London) Times.

SIR: In your criticism on my drama, *The Octoroon*, it is stated that the reception of the fifth act, in which the slave girl commits suicide in order to escape the embraces of her purchaser, contrasts strongly with the enthusiastic applause which had accompanied the first four acts of the play.

The question involved in these few words is not one of merely the craft of the playwright. I candidly admit that your estimate of public sympathy, as expressed last night, is as just as it is inexplicable. Since the Uncle Tom mania, the sentiments of the English public on the subject of slavery have seemed to be undergoing a great change; but I confess that I was not prepared to find that change so radical as it appeared to be when the experiment was tried upon the feelings of a miscellaneous audience. May I claim your attention to this view of a subject fraught with much serious interest?

A long residence in the Southern States of America had convinced me that the delineations in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the condition of the slaves, their lives, and feelings were not faithful. I found the slaves, as a race, a happy, gentle, kindly-treated population, and the restraints upon their liberty so slight as to be rarely perceptible. A visitor to Louisiana, who might expect to find his vulgar sympathies aroused by the exhibition of corporal punishment and physical torture, would be much disappointed. For my part, with every facility for observation, I never witnessed any ill-treatment whatever of the servile class; on the contrary, the slaves are in general warmly attached to their masters and to their homes, and this condition of things I have faithfully depicted.

But, behind all this, there are features in slavery far more objectionable than any of those hitherto held up to human execration, by the side of which physical suffering appears as a vulgar detail. Some of these features are, for the first time, boldly exhibited in *The Octoroon*. The audience hailed with every mark of enthusiasm the sunny views of negro life; they were pleased with the happy relations existing between the slaves and the family of which they were dependents; they enjoyed the heartiness with which these slaves were sold, and cheered the planters who bought them. But, when the Octoroon girl was purchased by the ruffianly overseer to become his paramour, her suicide to preserve her purity provoked no sympathy what ever. Yet, a few years ago, the same public, in the same theatre, witnessed with deep emotion the death of Uncle Tom under the lash, and accepted the tableau of the poor old negro, his shirt stained with the blood from his lacerated back, crawling across the stage, and dying in slow torture.

In the death of the Octoroon lies the moral and teaching of the whole work. Had this girl been saved, and the drama brought to a happy end, the horrors of her position, irremediable from the very nature of the institution of slavery, would subside into the condition of a temporary annoyance.

While I admit most fully the truth of your statement that the public was disappointed with the termination of the play, and would have been pleased with a happier issue, I feel strangely bewildered at such a change of feeling. Has public sentiment in this country veered so diametrically on this subject, and is it possible that this straw indicates that the feeling of the English people is taking another course?

Yours, respectfully, DION BOUCICAULT.
Hereford House, Nov. 19.

BRIGHT ANTICIPATIONS.—One of the most devoted and self-sacrificing of the band of noble women who identified themselves with the Anti-Slavery Movement at the start, and who, from that day to the present, have been its most efficient helpers, in a private letter, just received, thus expresses herself:

"Isn't it glorious to live now, in almost daily expectation of the sound of the Jubilee trumpet? As the signs of the approaching victory thicken around us, I already feel, in anticipation, the joy of final victory in our anti-slavery struggle; the joy unutterable which the slave will know when his fetters fall. Until very lately, I did not expect to experience this joy on earth; and even now, when the abolition of American slavery *seems* to be at hand, I can scarcely believe that I am really to *see* this blessed consummation of my labors, really to join my voice with the emancipated slave's, in his song of deliverance. If we had ever asked for recompense, if we had not found, at every step of our way, that our work was one whose reward, ample and rich, was in itself, such a guerdon as this that seems to await us in the near future, might well excite our deep and fervent thanksgiving. *We* always knew that it is a glorious thing to be an Abolitionist. May those who could not share our experience and our faith, in the darker days, enter into our joy when that faith is turned to sight."

A CRUEL IMPUTATION.—In last week's *Christian Inquirer* we find a sketch—prepared, it is not unlikely, by the preacher himself—of a Thanksgiving sermon by the Rev. Samuel Osgood, D. D., Pastor of the Unitarian Church of the Messiah in this city. The following sentence forms a part of the sketch:

"Positive anti-slavery ground was taken; yet no favor was shown towards those who would proclaim universal emancipation at once, and *try to kindle a murderous servile war.*"

This imputation upon those who are trying to persuade the government, in the exercise of the powers of war as defined by John Quincy Adams, to give freedom to the slaves, is without a shadow of justification in anything that they have said or done; nay, more, it is in direct conflict with their declared objects and wishes, and an echo of the slanders of the Satanic *Herald*, the lying *Express*, and kindred prints. Abolitionists have urged the emancipation of the slaves, not to "kindle a murderous servile war," but as the surest means of averting all danger of such a war by the removal of all motives for it. They point to a score of examples in history to prove that emancipation works well just in proportion as it is immediate and thorough. In short, they believe what Dr. Osgood evidently does not, that when God commands us to "break every yoke and let the oppressed go free," he is not asking us to inaugurate a scene of blood and carnage, but to provide in the best way for the safety and happiness of enslavers and enslaved.

We have observed that Dr. Osgood is in the habit of offsetting his milk-and-water anti-slavery utterances by striking at the Abolitionists. His blow in this instance is very "foul," and such as no manly hand could have struck.

SHAMEFUL.—We are assured, upon authority which leaves no room for doubt, that the man from whose pen flows the stream of ribaldry which Bennett's *Herald* daily pours out upon "Greeley, Sumner, Garrison, Phillips, Cheever," and others, is a scamp who was some time since turned away from the office of *The Journal of Commerce*, and who, notwithstanding his well-known identification with the very dirtiest type of pro-slavery Democracy, has been lately appointed by Mr. Hiram Barney, the anti-slavery Republican Collector of the port of New York, by special interposition of the anti-slavery Republican Secretary of the Treasury, to a sinecure in the Custom House! He was appointed, it is said, as a representative of *The Herald*, and in recognition of the service rendered by that paper to the government! Performing no duties in the Custom House, he draws his salary from the U. S. Treasury, and devotes himself to the congenial work of lampooning the men and the papers to whom Messrs. Chase and Barney owe their selection for the offices they fill.

THE UNION ANTI-SLAVERY PRAYER-MEETING for December was held on Monday evening last at the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans. It was an occasion of very deep interest. Among those who spoke were the Rev. M. French, D. Fairbank, M.D., Edward Gilbert, Esq., and Dr. Cheever. The case of the Rev. Mr. Gordon, now in the Cleveland Jail upon a charge of violating the infamous Fugitive Slave law, was brought to the attention of the meeting by Dr. Cheever, on whose motion a committee was appointed to draft and forward a memorial to the President asking for his release.

PERSONAL.

REV. SAMUEL LONGFELLOW, late of the Second Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, is spending the winter in Berlin, Prussia.

THEODORE TILTON'S Lecture on "The Latest Phases of the War" gave great satisfaction to a numerous and intelligent audience at Orange, N. J., on the 4th inst.

MRS. J. ELIZABETH JONES will deliver a lecture at Kennett Square, Pa., this (Saturday) evening on "Moral Beauty"—the proceeds to be appropriated to supplying the needs of the camp hospitals.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley, Dr. Cheever, and Geo. W. Curtis, have signified their acceptance of the invitations sent them to each deliver a lecture in a course to be given this winter in Washington.

It is stated that James Buchanan has completed the first volume of a work, in which he attempts to prove that his Administration was the most glorious one the country has ever seen—not even excepting the eight years of the Administration of George Washington. He also turns State's evidence against the members of his Cabinet.

MR. MANNING, the Junior pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, is a wit. The Roxbury *Journal* says, that in a lecture recently delivered in that place, he referred to Messrs. Mason and Slidell as Commodore Wilkes's "contrabands." He also referred to Mason as the vindictive persecutor of John Brown, and said that while the gathered hosts of Freedom were chanting on the Potomac "John Brown's Soul is marching on," the Virginia Senator, under the shadow of Bunker Hill, at Fort Warren, whines out, dolefully, "O carry me back to Old Virginny."

A FRIEND in Boston writes: "What has got into Ward Beecher, that he denounces emancipation by the government? I see all the pro-slavery journals are copying his ill-timed, ill-digested, absurd, and practically pro-slavery sentiments, with 'thanksgiving.' I did not attend his lecture in this city on 'The Camp and Country,' but, though its funny parts elicited some applause, I am told, yet, as a whole, it 'made the judicious grieve,' and damaged rather than added to the reputation of the lecturer. 'The way of peace he knows not.'"

DR. CHEEVER will preach in the Old South Church, in Boston, to-morrow, morning and evening; the Junior pastor of the Old South occupying at the same times the pulpit of the Church of the Puritans in this city. The evening discourse of each will probably bear a close relation to slavery as connected with the war. If our Boston friends want a new sensation, let them not fail to hear Dr. Cheever apply "the Word of God" to slavery from beneath the "sounding-board" of the Old South. Our friends in New York, on the other hand, will find in Mr. Manning a preacher of great ability, who dares to apply the principles of Christianity to popular sins, and has no sympathy with the efforts of Dr. Thompson and others to crush Dr. Cheever.

THE Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* says: "Frederick Douglass gave the Fraternity lecture on Tuesday night. It came near being a total failure; the speaker only saved himself by switching off suddenly from his subject, and pitching in on the great question of the day. An Abolition friend who sat near me, and who was thoroughly bored by his first half hour's discourse on pictures and daguerreotype saloons, despondingly remarked, 'A nigger aint much better than a white man after all!' The closing part of the address, though necessarily disjointed and rambling, gave evidence of some of Douglass's old power, and the audience applauded heartily, glad, probably, to be relieved from what they feared would be a journey, a jam, and an evening without result."

The Philadelphia *Inquirer* relates the following incident:

"A naval officer was so unfortunate, a day or two since, while enjoying his dinner at Willard's Hotel, as to denounce what he was pleased to term 'Abolition movements,' and to add that 'that Abolitionist Henry Wilson is as bad as any of them.' To his surprise, a gentleman who had been quietly dining at his side, said in firm tones: 'Sir! I am Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, and I will suggest that you had perhaps better confine yourself to your duties, instead of indulging in such personal criticisms, which are in bad taste.' The rebuked officer 'shut pan,' and soon left the table, to wait for the Senator in the hall, and humbly apologize for his remark."

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the Inhabitants thereof."

To the Congress of the United States:

THE undersigned, citizens of , State of , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, as a conciliatory measure, and to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ *Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.*

Printed copies of the above Memorial may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York, Philadelphia and Boston, and of Joel McMillan, Salem, Ohio. Persons applying to Mr. McMillan will enclose payment at the rate of $1.25 per hundred, to cover cost of paper and printing.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.—(Extract of a private letter from a distinguished friend of the anti-slavery cause.)—"What a wishy-washy message from the President! It is more and more evident that he is a man of very small calibre, and had better be at his old business of splitting rails than at the head of a government like ours, especially in such a crisis. He has evidently not a drop of anti-slavery blood in his veins; and he seems incapable of uttering a humane or generous sentiment respecting the enslaved millions in our land. No wonder that such villanous papers as *The Journal of Commerce*, *The Express*, Bennett's *Herald*, and the Boston *Courier* and *Post*, are his special admirers and champions! If there be not soon an "irrepressible conflict" in the Republican ranks, in regard to his course of policy, I shall almost despair of the country. In fact, I shudder at the possibility of the war terminating without the utter extinction of slavery, by a new and more atrocious compromise on the part of the North than any that has yet been made. We must continue to brand as accessories of the Southern traitors all those who, now that the government can rightly do it under the war power, denounce and oppose the emancipation of those in bondage. A curse on that Southern 'loyalty' which is retained only by allowing it to control the policy of the Administration!"

BOSTON DISGRACED.—The "City of the Pilgrims" disgraced herself on Monday last by the reelection as Mayor of J. M. Wightman, the present incumbent, and the man who lent his official influence and authority last winter to crush out the freedom of speech. He has none of the ability of Fernando Wood, but is quite as unprincipled as that "bold bad man." He was supported by the sham Democracy, the Bell-Everett men, and the whole Liquor interest, represented by some 3,000 drinking shops, etc.; while the Republicans, on the other hand, are weighed down by such a load of blind and self-imposed conservatism that they cannot stand upright, but only cringe and crawl.

Our European Correspondence.

FROM OUR DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT.

DUBLIN, Nov. 9, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WHEN the civil war in America broke out, everybody thought that the populous, powerful and wealthy North would find it an easy matter to bring the thinly-peopled, slavery-cursed and impoverished Southern States to their senses. Everybody has been mistaken, and it is impossible for anyone anywhere, who abhors slavery and wishes well to the cause of morality and national stability, not to feel humiliated in view of the repeated defeats which the Northern troops have received at the hands of the Southern leaders, stained as they and their cause are by treason, bad faith, treachery and dishonesty. But in war it by no means happens that victory is determined by the claims of morality—nor even by the most numerous battalions—but rather by the discipline of the troops and the genius of the leaders. For many years past, long and long before a dissolution of the Union was regarded as a probable event (however much it was to be desired in the interest of humanity), I have been under the impression that, whilst the North supplied the material and the sinews of war, the South was allowed to nominate the Generals of your troops and the Captains of your navy. If this be true, and if, as I believe has been the case, the Southern officers by land and sea have, in nine cases out of ten, if not in a far larger proportion, joined the Confederates, what other result could be reasonably looked for than the very events that have happened? However war may be regarded by the Christian, the moralist or the philanthropist, no sensible man will question that the General who can control, discipline, and manœuvre with success vast armies, requires talents of a very high order—courage, coolness, self-possession, powers of combination and concentration such as very few are gifted with—so rarely found in the one individual, that it is no wonder when their rarity and the importance of their results are considered, in shaping the destinies of nations, such a man should be regarded with admiration and crowned with the highest rewards that men can confer upon their fellows. From the breaking forth of war between France and England in 1793, to the commencement of the Duke of Wellington's brilliant career in 1809, a period of sixteen years of almost constant struggle and enormous expenditure of blood and treasure, I cannot recall any names of eminent English Generals but Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Sir John Moore, both of whom died on the field of battle, while both had enormous difficulties to contend with in the imperfect discipline and fearful demoralization of their soldiers. The Duke of Wellington (then Sir Arthur Wellesley) had a sore time before he succeeded in controlling the lawlessness of his own soldiers, and he showed his genius at the beginning of his career in avoiding engagements, rather than in winning them. With a good cause, abundant supplies of men and money, and perseverance, there seems no reason why you should not eventually get the upper hand if you succeed in getting a really able, prudent and experienced leader. It should, however, be remembered that Wellington had had great experience in India, where he gained wonderful victories over enormously disproportioned forces of the enemy.

When I read Sumner's recent great speech, and read that it was listened to with enthusiasm by a vast audience, who negatived the resolutions which were founded on the positions his speech was meant to establish—I confess my organ of hope got a greater shock than at any other time since the commencement of this struggle. "If," thought I, "the people of Massachusetts love the Union so little, that they fear to proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof, which they have just agreed with their gifted Senator is the only means to ensure its restoration—what can we hope for or from the American people?"

I have seen it asserted that much as you abhor the treason of the South, you dread the political equality of the colored race as a still greater calamity, and that if you could conquer the slave States immediately, or if they were voluntarily to suspend hostilities, you would rush into their embrace on any terms sooner than consent to the admission of Judge Taney's victims within the pale of your boasted franchises. Byron declared, forty years ago, "There is no hope for nations." What can there be, I ask, for a nation so besotted with absurd and cowardly prejudice against their fellow-men?

There is some talk in our newspapers of the talk in your newspapers of your intention to go to war with us. For what reason? may I ask. We have talked as free people must be allowed to do, and as no people have done more freely than yourselves, at all events and contingencies of our recent history. But what have we done, and is there any way of averting your wrath except by stopping the liberty of unlicensed printing? All that is published here respecting your difficulties is freely canvassed on all hands. Some think one thing, some another, and by free discussion and by comparing our judgment with your opinions we hope to come to a right decision. But what manner of good would be done to us or to you by going to war with us? Have you not plenty of war on your hands? You might attack Canada, to be sure. But is not Canada able to take care of herself? Has she not a frontier as difficult to attack as the slave States? Are not her woods as dense, her roads as impracticable, her people as determined to defend themselves, as the slaveholders are to maintain the "sacred corner" of their republican institutions? If they wish to join you peaceably, why not ask them before you go to war with them? If this pet war of Mr. Seward's should be inaugurated, it will be unquestionably the maddest, the silliest, and the most unprovoked in all the annals of nations.

Look at this cutting from the New York *Dispatch*:

BULL'S RUN—THE REAL EXPLANATION.—The New York *Dispatch* says: "One of our exchanges has discovered the cause of the retreat of our army at Bull's Run. It says: 'When the battle was at its hottest point, and nearly won to our side, there came word that there were two vacancies in the New York Custom House. Hence the stampede of the leading officers. The men followed.'"

Has anything so bad appeared in *Punch*, or in any other English newspaper?

I am surprised that neither in your columns nor in *The Liberator* have I seen any notice of Mr. Sewell's book on the "Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies," published in New York by Harper Brothers.* This book is the most full, complete, business-like and dispassionate review of the whole question of the sound policy, in every respect, of emancipation *versus* slavery, that I have ever seen. It does not dwell much on the moral view of the question, but gives such practical proof of the pecuniary, social and political advantages of freedom as are the most likely to reach all who look at the question on considerations of self-interest; and as coming from an American must convince every one who is not so hopelessly prejudiced against the colored race as to view them as his natural enemies.

Yours, RICHARD D. WEBB.

* The work was reviewed in THE STANDARD on the 15th of June last.—*Ed. Standard.*

DR. CHEEVER'S DISCOURSE, delivered last Sunday evening, was certainly one of the most powerful and convincing that we have ever heard from his lips. Some one has defined eloquence as "logic on fire," and if the definition be correct, then was Dr. Cheever eloquent on this occasion. His rebukes of the selfishness, injustice and cruelty of the government in not only refusing to strike off the fetters of the slaves, but even protecting slavery by the military arm, were no less just than scathing; and it was with difficulty that the audience were restrained from expressing their approval by loud applause.

Next Sunday evening the Rev. JACOB M. MANNING, the eloquent junior pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, will deliver an anti-slavery discourse in Dr. Cheever's pulpit. The friends of freedom should not miss the opportunity of hearing him. Mr. Manning will also preach in the morning.

WEBB'S LIFE OF JOHN BROWN.—Mr. George E. Baker, late Clerk of the Court of Appeals at Albany, now in the State Department at Washington, says: "I have been greatly interested and pleased with Webb's Life of Captain John Brown, which I purchased of you. I wish it might be republished in this country. It would be an admirable work for the present 'crisis.' Every soldier, every person who reads it will be inspired with a heroism unmatched in modern times."

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 9, 1861.

I READ your last leader with even more than the usual satisfaction. Its language in regard to abolition as a pending event was less uncertain than some of its predecessors. There has been ample evidence for some time that the overthrow of slavery was not only inevitable but imminent. Now that the process has actually begun, you may well speak with positiveness.

The Reports of Secretaries Cameron and Welles are, in effect, edicts of emancipation; Mr. Lincoln's show of reluctance, be it real or affected, to the contrary notwithstanding. Mr. Cameron's language is very explicit: "If it shall be found that the *men* (not *things*, mind you) who have been held by the rebels as slaves are capable of bearing arms and performing efficient military service, it is the right and may become the duty of the government to arm and equip them, and employ their services against the rebels, under proper military regulation, discipline and command. But in whatever manner they may be used, *it is plain that once liberated by the rebellious act of their masters, they should never again be restored to bondage.*"

That is the policy advocated by Simon Cameron, and it is likely to be adopted. Mr. Cameron knows what he is about. He is a man of great forecast and an astute politician. He understands the temper of the public. It is not probable that Mr. Lincoln differs from him materially, or that he will make any serious opposition to his views; but if he should, so much the worse for Mr. Lincoln. The Cabinet minister who, in times like these, holds the portfolio of war, is more than a match for the President; especially when the minister has the knowledge, energy and ambition of Simon Cameron, and the President is the inexperienced and hesitating Abraham Lincoln. Cameron knows how to "run with the machine." He seizes the rope and seems to be pulling for dear life; but he is only keeping out of the way of the people, who are pulling behind him. Lincoln is holding back and crying, "Not so fast!" But it is no use. He will have his labor for his pains. Events are culminating. The plot thickens; we are in the fifth act, and the catastrophe is upon us. The abolition of slavery has begun, and soon will be an irrevocable fact. "Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace, and good will toward men!"

The Report of the Secretary of the Navy, in its moral tone, is fully up to that of the Secretary of War. His instruction to commanders is to receive all comers. If insurgents, they are to be handed over to the custody of the government, to be dealt with accordingly; if free from any voluntary participation in the rebellion and seeking the shelter of our flag, then "they should be cared for and employed in some useful manner, and might be enlisted to serve on our public vessels, or in our navy yards, receiving wages for their labor. If such employment could not be furnished to all by the navy, they might be referred to the army, and if no employment could be found for them in the public service, they should be allowed to *proceed freely and peaceably without restraint to seek a livelihood in any loyal portion of the country.* This I have considered to be the whole required duty, in the premises, of our naval officers."

That is making short work of it. Nothing is said here about color, black and white are placed in the same category. And an end is put, by a stroke of the pen, to the Underground Railroad. By this single sentence the Secretary has ripped up the whole track and virtually disbanded our Vigilance Committees. I take this opportunity, without waiting to be authorized, to thank the contributors to the treasury of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, at home and abroad, for their faithful cooperation, and to notify them that in all probability we shall have no further call for their aid in this particular line of business.

It may seem to some unwise to talk in this confident manner, but I don't so regard it. There is danger of erring in the opposite direction. Distrust has become a habit with some Abolitionists. They have so often been deceived and disappointed that they have got into the way of expecting nothing till it happens, and believing nothing till they see it. Even when convinced of some good in store for them, they deem it best to conceal the fact under some general expression of doubt and apprehension. Their idea seems to be that this is most conducive to the proper state of mind to be cherished under the circumstances. They remind one of the boy who, having a ticket in a lottery, said he was "almost sure he would draw a prize, for he kept thinking all the time he wouldn't." It is well, certainly, to guard against disappointment, but it is possible to push the habit of looking for evil to too great an extent, even when dealing with politicians. I have great faith in sharp politicians when the people are right. Our doctrine has been—and on it has been based our whole policy—Get the people right, and there will be no trouble with the politicians. Change public sentiment on the subject of slavery, and the work of abolition is as good as done. Public sentiment has been changed; not as radically as we desired and intend that it shall yet be, but still so thoroughly as to make the abolition of slavery a thing inevitable.

Secretary Seward's order directed to Gen. McClellan, on the subject of fugitive slaves, was a good thing, so far as it went. Coming at the time it did, it was an implied rebuke of the shameless officiousness of Gen.

be expected to pass without any essential modification, and become the legislative basis of action for the government.

Your readers will see, therefore, that I speak by the record when I say that the catastrophe is upon us, and that the end has begun. Abolition is no longer a future contingency, but a present reality. Thousands who were, a few weeks ago, slaves, are now "free men," at Fortress Monroe, Hatteras, Port Royal, in Missouri and elsewhere; their number, already comparatively large, is increasing, at least at several of these points, in a geometrical ratio. A young officer, lately attached to Gen. Lane's staff, and known to be entirely trustworthy, writes to his friends in Philadelphia: "*We have in one brigade 900 blacks, all mounted on horses belonging to former masters!*" It is said that the number of slaves in that State (Missouri) has been reduced—partly by forcible emancipation and partly by transportation further South—nearly one-half. A similar reduction, though not to the same extent, is going on in the other border States.

As the work of emancipation goes on, it will be seen that the blacks are gradually being concentrated in the more southern of the slave States. Those manumitted on the border either stay where they are or move further down with our armies; while those put out of the way by their masters for safe keeping are of course sent southwards. The tide of black emigration, as Abolitionists have always predicted would be the case if left to its natural course, has already set in toward the South, and appearances indicate that emancipation, when fully completed, will find the blacks in incipient possession of the soil of which their tyrant masters have hitherto been sole lords and proprietors. The talk of Senator Lane, President Lincoln and others, about a "plan of colonization," is all bosh. This is a matter which will take care of itself; the less Congress legislates and the President recommends on the subject, the better. Economical not Congressional laws are to determine the question of where the blacks ought to be located, and where their labor will be most available for their own and the public good.

I trust that those unbelieving Thomases, our cousins on the other side of the water, will find some evidence in the tidings which late steamers will have brought them, that we Abolitionists have had some grounds for the enthusiasm—to them so unintelligible—which we have manifested in the developments of this war. Some of our English friends seem to be in a very unhappy state of mind on this subject. This is to be regretted; but since the failure of all the means employed to prevent it, I don't see that it can be helped. Time, and the revelations which it will bring, will disclose some things to our friends which, though now palpable to us, they cannot yet be made to understand.

Mrs. Martineau, in her strictures upon Wendell Phillips—which it is not my place to notice—prepares us to expect a falling off in the contributions of English Abolitionists to our anti-slavery funds. The regret which will be felt at this intimation will not arise so much from a concern for the interests of our cause on this side of the water, as from the evidence it will afford of the limited hold our movement has upon the convictions of friends on the other.

But I don't mean to touch upon international matters. Observation and some experience have taught me that, thin-skinned as we are, sensitiveness is not an attribute peculiar to Americans. We are all alike subject to the same infirmities, and needing the same discipline. If our English friends like us better when dwelling upon our own misdeeds, than when hinting at the evidence of wrong in them, it is natural and not to be wondered at. True, it is not exactly consistent with the attainments which Abolitionists from conviction are supposed to have reached, but if we were in their place, we should doubtless feel and act just as they do. So let peace and mutual cooperation continue between us. M.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, Dec. 8th, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I need not tell you we were woefully disappointed in the President's message. I can't say that, like Pip, we had "great expectations." We knew Mr. Lincoln to be neither an anti-slavery man nor an Andrew Jackson, but, after a six months' ineffectual war, in which we have made no progress because our government has dared announce no settled policy, we had reason to expect at the assembling of Congress something better than the uncertain sounds which come to us from our bewildered Chief-Magistrate.

Aside from the studied omission of the only point upon which the people cared to hear him, *i. e.*, the way to settle the war, there is neither dignity nor ability indicated in the message. "How not to do it" should have been written at its head. What with its slovenly style, its out-of-place discussion of the abstract question of labor, and its artful dodging of the one vital subject which concerns the country, it is a rich state paper to send abroad as the latest product of American statesmanship. How the faces of Palmerston and Thouvenel must broaden as they peruse it.

Fortunately the straightforward Report of the Secretary of War, and the auspicious opening of Congress more than counteract the pernicious effects of the President's message. The emancipation sentiment gains ground daily with us. Cameron is heartily endorsed and Lincoln as heartily condemned. It is in vain that Bennett's *Herald* and the Boston *Courier*, *Herald*, and *Post* proclaim their admiration of the message. They cannot hide under such a guise the cloven hoof of secession, for the people do not forget that Lincoln had no more bitter and unscrupulous opponents before election, and until public sentiment refused to tolerate their treasonable talk, Jeff. Davis had no stancher friends.

We are gaining names to our emancipation petitions quite readily, though not with the complete success we had anticipated. Slavery yet sways with a tenacious grasp thousands of our people whom one would think the logic of events had enlightened before this. But old Abolitionists confess that, until now, even they never comprehended fully the extent of that fearful demoralization which so many years of guilty complicity on our part with the slave system has produced. At the last Fraternity lecture petitions were circulated among the audience and several hundred signatures obtained.

One of the last acts of our lamented friend Francis Jackson was to head a petition to Congress asking emancipation. The messenger who carried it to him found him in a feeble condition, reclining upon his couch. He requested it to be read aloud; the messenger complied, remarking as he finished, "If you are not able to sign it now, I will come again." "It is about the only thing I am able to do," said the failing philanthropist, and raising himself to the table at his side, wrote his name with a steady hand in those bold, clear letters so characteristic of the man. It was a fitting act with which to approach the termination of his noble life. For thirty years identified with every movement of humanity, no anti-slavery petition could be complete without his name. God grant that he has signed the last which America will ever need!

Not even a painful sickness could induce him to forget for a moment the cause he loved so well; and with an earnest interest he watched to the last moment the progress of events, and died confident of the speedy triumph of those principles which he had periled so much to vindicate and spread abroad.

> "Thanks for the good man's beautiful example,
> Who in the vilest saw
> Some sacred crypt or altar of a temple
> Still vocal with God's law."

Frederick Douglass lectured last Tuesday on "Pictures and Progress" before the Fraternity. The first part of his lecture, concerning pictures, was well written, but not of a nature to satisfy an audience who were impatient to hear a colored man speak on the times. When he left his manuscript, stood before the desk, and commenced upon the topic of the day, the effect was magical upon the assembly, which, from a partially listless and inattentive body, at once became attentive and enthusiastic. Douglass had touched the key-note. Some of his points were very effective. He reminded us that just one year ago that day (Dec. 3d), a mob of pro-slavery ruffians broke up the John Brown meeting and thrust him from the same platform upon which he was now speaking. "Where are those men to-day?" he asked. "Many of them marching South to battle slavery to the tune of "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave."

He drew a picture of the martyr of Harper's Ferry stretched upon his pallet, suffering from his wounds, yet compelled to listen to the cruel taunts of a proud Virginia Senator. This was two years ago. Stepping forward to the platform's verge and bending over to the audience, Douglass said, beginning in a low voice and rising rapidly as he proceeded, "Now, the question I want to ask you to-night is, *Where's Mason?*" The response was tremendous. J.

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, Dec. 9, 1861.

The agitation in Congress of the Emancipation question has already had a wholesome effect upon the Administration. A few weeks ago, prominent persons connected with the government were very decided in their condemnation of the proposed scheme of emancipation as a war measure. To-day many of these persons are equally loud in their condemnation of Mr. Cameron's proposition to put arms into the hands of the slaves, but they add, "We have no objections to urge against the emancipation of the slaves—emancipate them if you will, but don't set them to fighting!" Thus the *attachés* of the Administration, one by one, advance with the popular sentiment. Emancipation is no longer a bugbear with even conservative men. What they now oppose is the proposition *to arm the slaves*. Well, as for that matter, no sensible man will care whether the slaves are to be armed or not, so they are set free. If government has so many white soldiers that it doesn't care to employ colored ones, no one will complain. But what if, by and bye, it should become apparent that the government *needs* the aid of the colored population of the South to put down the rebellion? Will the particular friends of Mr. Lincoln *then* assert that the idea of "arming negroes" is horrible? Suppose the city of Washington were in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, and ten thousand slaves offered to defend it with Springfield muskets, would President Lincoln object? I presume not. Try another case: When the hot weather of next June arrives, how are we to hold on to Beaufort, Tybee Island, and some other points which we hope to take, and where a white man cannot live from June to November? With a few regiments of colored people, properly trained, and a small number of white officers who are used to a Southern climate, these important positions on the enemy's coast might easily be held through the summer. But this is a matter which the government can settle, as it is responsible to the people for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

There is no doubt of the truth of the rumors, current a few days since, of a lively interview between President Lincoln and Secretary Cameron respecting the Report of the last-named gentleman. Many of these rumors were exaggerated, for there was really no undignified quarrel between President and Secretary. It is, however, true that the President insisted upon a modification of the Report, and that for some time Mr. Cameron refused a compliance. Finally he backed down before the demands of the President and a majority of the Cabinet. The Secretary of War would receive more sympathy from anti-slavery men if they had more confidence in his integrity of character. Very many members of Congress, who have the cause of human freedom at heart, doubt the Secretary and suppose that he has taken up a new policy respecting slavery to cover up his unpopularity with the people as a dispenser of government patronage and contracts. It will not do, however, in times like these, to scrutinize the motives of men too closely. If Mr. Cameron will only stick to his present position, it is all that we can ask. But the fear is often expressed that he has gone into the emancipation question as he has for some others, for political effect, and that the moment he finds it safer to take another position he will do so without reference to consistency. That he is not a man of remarkable honesty of character everybody knows who has had anything to do with him within the last six years. It will not do, therefore, for anti-slavery men to put any trust in him. Like John Cochrane, he has not an anti-slavery feeling in his heart, and his present course is dictated by the conviction that the nation's welfare, or his own interests, will be promoted by it.

As the matter stands to-day, the President and a majority of the Cabinet are very conservative on this question. A minority favor, not perhaps the putting of arms into the hands of the slaves, but emancipation, wherever such an act would weaken the power of the rebels. Few persons connected with the government desire to see a proclamation of emancipation, except where it becomes actually necessary in a military department. I think there is no doubt the President would veto any bill passed by Congress for the emancipation of the slaves, except it was conditional, giving the President the option of putting the act into operation or not according to circumstances. The President, in other words, does not mean to be *driven* into adopting the policy of immediate emancipation, though every one can see that the government is rapidly *drifting* in that direction.

The House Committee of Investigation makes its report to-day, and I hear that some of the evidence taken bears pretty hard upon prominent Republicans. I fear that many of the Republicans who cried up retrenchment, economy and reform in the Presidential campaign, were very insincere. If what I hear be true, some of the persons who stand very near to the President have been all summer dealing in corruption. Some of the evidence is said to point at Marshal Lamon, who is one of Mrs. Lincoln's particular friends. Ex-members of Congress and others are implicated. The Committee evidently think Secretaries Cameron and Welles have taken care of their family relations too well. As for Mr. Cameron, this is an old habit of his, but it will be hard to convince the public that Mr. Welles has behaved improperly. He always had the reputation at Hartford of being a strictly honest man. In fact, the report of the Committee does not accuse him of a want of honesty, but of a disposition to favor his brother-in-law, Morgan, of the city of New York, at the expense of the U. S. Treasury. Other persons in high places are under suspicion of improper transactions, but are not pointed out by name. As for Secretary Welles, the writer of this has known him long, and he has no doubt whatever that every action of his has been prompted by the purest of motives. If he has made a mistake, it has been caused by a blindness of which the Secretary was totally unconscious. He has *intended* to do the very best thing for the government, and in appointing his brother-in-law to a position where he could amass a private fortune, he did so in the full belief that the government was best served by such an appointment. He may have blundered through friendship, but it was not intentional. The Committee, however, should be praised for fearlessly discharging its duty in the face of party feeling and the civil commotion which staggers the nation. It required unusual courage to point out one's political friends for censure, but this the Committee have done.

The Evening Star of this city goes rabid over the agitation of the slavery question in Congress. The fact that lectures are to be delivered here this winter by well-known anti-slavery men seems to disturb its equanimity, and the exposure of the terrible facts connected with the City Prison rouses its anger. It calls Sumner and Wilson "buncombe" agitators. That is, these Senators care nothing for the slave, but do care to make political capital at home! It is still more coarse in its attacks upon other members of Congress, and really would seem to be determined to bully the majority in Congress out of their purposes. The proprietor and editor of *The Evening Star* is a Virginia slaveholder, who used to be a Breckinridge Democrat. He has conducted himself very well since the rebellion broke out, for nearly all his property lies in the grasp of the rebels, and his family is there also. He has taken a bold stand against the rebels, but his pro-slavery prejudices are very strong. His little newspaper is a money-making concern, and is probably worth about as much to him as his plantation at Culpepper Court House. But he will find that his old-fashioned attacks on "the Abolitionists" will not pass as well now as they did when Brooks caned Sumner, and Rust knocked Horace Greeley into a Washington gutter. Things have changed. Keitt no longer struts in the House of Representatives, and Mason, instead of marching up and down the Senate aisle, arms akimbo, takes his short and lonesome walks in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor! What might *pay*, one year ago, in Washington, *will not* at the present time. Avon.

Notice.—Members of the American Anti-Slavery Society entitled to receive the Annual Report just published will have their copies forwarded by mail upon their remitting the amount of postage (in stamps or otherwise), viz.: *fourteen cents*, to Robert F. Wallcut, 221 Washington Street, Boston.

Proceedings of Congress.

In The House, Thursday, Dec. 5, Mr. Gurley (Rep., O.) offered a resolution, which was adopted, requesting the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire if a Telegraphic Censorship of the Press has been established in Washington, and if so, by whose authority, and by whom it is now controlled; to report if such censorship has not been used to restrain wholesome political criticism and discussion, while its professed and laudable object has been to withhold from the enemy information in relation to the movements of the army.

Mr. Lovejoy (Rep., Ill.) introduced a bill, proposing to repeal all laws requiring passes to persons of color going Northward, to take immediate effect. Referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Neither House met either on Friday or Saturday.

In The Senate, on Monday, Mr. Sumner (Rep. Mass.) presented several petitions from citizens of Rhode Island and Vermont, calling on Congress, under the war power to legislate on the subject of the emancipation of the slaves of Rebels. Similar petitions were also presented by the Vice-President and by Mr. Collamer (Rep., Vt.). They were all referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Sumner presented a resolution that all memorials and papers on the files of the Senate relating to the recognition of Liberia and Hayti be taken from the files and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Agreed to.

Mr. Clark (Rep., N. H.) offered a resolution requesting the Marshal of the District to inform the Senate by what authority he keeps slaves of the District in jail, because they are refractory. He said he had visited the jail, and found a number of slaves of the District confined for no reason only because their masters or mistresses sent them there because they were refractory. The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Hale's (Rep., N. H.) resolution, directing the Judiciary Committee to inquire into the expediency of abolishing the present Supreme Court, and establishing another, was taken up. He said the present Supreme Court had failed. He believed if the Rebels now in arms should succeed, the Supreme Court would decide that the soldiers now in Virginia were trespassers and rioters.

Mr. Foster (Rep., Conn.) thought that Congress should legislate only for the great question before Congress. While he believed that the Supreme Court had lost the confidence of the country, he did not think the Judiciary would be benefitted by the denunciation of its members. He did not believe this was the time for radical legislation on the Judiciary.

Mr. Browning (Rep., Ill.) thought that it was not in the power of Congress to repeal the Supreme Court. Such power was not given in the Constitution. We had no more power to repeal that Court than we had to repeal the Constitution.

Mr. Collamer moved, as a substitute, that all portions of the President's Message relating to the Judiciary be referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Collamer's amendment, as a substitute, was agreed to, and the resolution as amended adopted.

A resolution to appoint a Committee to investigate the causes of all the disasters that have happened to the Union forces was, after discussion, adopted. In the course of the debate, Mr. Sherman (Rep., O.) said: "The people in the country are full of enthusiasm, but here it is not so. He knew that in many departments of the government impediments had been thrown in the way of the progress of the army. He would record his solemn conviction that before the war ceased slavery would almost, if not entirely, cease to exist; but the war should be carried on without any reference to the subject of slavery, to preserve a free country for free men. If he could infuse the spirit of the people into all the departments of the government, the war would soon end."

In the House, on motion of Mr. Richardson (Dem., Ill.), a joint resolution was adopted requesting the President to inaugurate systematic measures for an exchange of prisoners with the rebels.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs was instructed to inquire into the expediency of furnishing relief to the starving population of Ireland, and to report by bill or otherwise.

Mr. Lovejoy (Rep., Ill.) introduced the following joint resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be requested to revoke the first section of the General Order, dated Nov. 26, 1861, of Major-General Halleck, commanding the Western Division of the Army.

The section alluded to in the above resolution is as follows:

"As it has been represented that information of the number of our army and condition of our affairs has been conveyed to the enemy by the means of fugitive slaves who have been allowed to enter the lines, therefore, in order to remedy the evil no such persons shall hereafter be permitted to enter the lines of the army, and any now within them shall be excluded therefrom."

Mr. Cox (Opp., O.) moved to lay the resolution on the table, which was disagreed to by a vote of yeas 63, nays 68, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Allen, Ancona, Baily (Penn.), Biddle, Blair, Browne (R. I.), Brown (Va.), Burnham, Cobb, Cox, Craven, Crisfield, Crittenden, Dawes, Delano, Dunlap, Dunn, English, Foulke, Grider, Harding, Harrison, Holman, Horton, Johnson, Kellogg (Ill.), Killinger, Law, Lazear, Leary, Lehman, McKnight, McPherson, Mallory, Maynard, Menzies, Nixon, Noble, Noell, Norton, Odell, Olin, Pendleton, Richardson, Robinson, Sheffield, Shellabarger, Shiel, Smith, Steele (N. Y.), Steele (N. J.), Stratten, Thomas (Mass.), Thomas (Md.), Upton, Vallandigham, Wadsworth, Webster, White (Ohio), Wickliffe, Wood, Woodruff, Wright—63.

Nays—Messrs. Aldrich, Alley, Ashley, Babbitt, Bailey (Mass.), Baker, Baxter, Bingham, Blair (Mo.), Blair (Pa.), Blake, Buffinton, Chamberlain, Clark, Colfax, Fred. A. Conkling, Roscoe Conkling, Conway, Davis, Diven, Duell, Edgerton, Edwards, Eliot, Fenton, Fessenden, Franchot, Frank, Gooch, Granger, Gurley, Hutchins, Julian, Kelley, Lansing, Loomis, Lovejoy, Moorhead, Morrill (Maine), Morrill (Vt.), Phelps (Cal.), Pomeroy, Porter, Potter, Rice (Mass.), Riddle, Rollins (N. H.), Sergeant, Sedgwick, Shanks, Sherman, Sloan, Spaulding, Stevens, Train, Trimble, Trowbridge, Vandever, Van Horn, Van Wyck, Wall, Wallace, Walton (Maine), Walton (Vt.), Washburne, Wheeler, Wilson, Worcester—68.

Mr. Lovejoy then moved the previous question.

Mr. Olin (Rep., N. Y.) moved that the House adjourn. The motion was lost by a large majority.

Mr. Lansing (Rep., N. Y.) offered the following substitute, which Mr. Lovejoy accepted, and then the consideration of the subject was postponed;

"Whereas, Maj.-Gen. Halleck of the Western Department has issued an order prohibiting negroes from coming within the lines of our army, and excluding those already under the protection of our troops; and, whereas, a different policy and practice prevail in other Departments, by the direct sanction of the Administration; and, whereas, said order is cruel and inhuman, and, in the judgment of this House, based upon no military necessity; therefore,

Resolved, That the President be respectfully requested to direct Gen. Halleck to recall said order, or cause it to conform to the practice in other Departments of the Army.

Mr. Bingham (Rep., O.) introduced a bill repealing all acts and parts of acts authorizing the commitment in the District of Columbia of persons of color as runaways, and being sold to pay expenses, etc., and to punish for such practices.

Mr. Gurley (Rep., O.) introduced a bill to confiscate the property of rebels, liberate their slaves, and colonize them. Referred to the Military Committee.

Mr. Hutchins (Rep., O.) introduced a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Referred.

On motion of Mr. Fessenden (Rep., Me.) it was resolved that the Committee on the District of Columbia be requested to report the number of fugitive slaves that have been confined in the government jail in Washington during the last year and a half, by whom claimed, whether any of these fugitives have been returned to their claimants, by what authority, and to whom; and also specifying what number, if any, have been returned since the order of Secretary Seward in reference to alleged fugitives, to whom and by whom delivered.

In the Senate, on Tuesday, Messrs. Fessenden, of Maine, and Sumner, of Massachusetts, presented petitions for the emancipation of slaves under the war power.

Mr. Harlan (Rep., Iowa) introduced a bill to authorize the President to acquire territory for the settlement of free persons of African descent. Referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. Hale's resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to inquire into the expediency of abolishing the present judicial system of the United States, and establishing another in pursuance of the Constitution, was agreed to.

The death of the late Senator Bingham of Michigan was announced, and tributes paid to his memory by Messrs. Chandler, King, Clark and Sumner. Mr. Sumner said: "The deceased Senator was always firm for right, and against oppression and wrong. He was one of those beautiful natures where God joined the mildest manners to the bravest mind. He was always opposed to slavery, and any compromise with evil. Such a Senator is ill spared at such an hour as the present, though he still lives by example."

In the House, Mr. Pendleton (Opp., O.) made a long speech to show that Congress alone has power to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and in favor of a proposition to instruct the Judiciary Committee to that effect. He was answered by Mr. Bingham of Ohio, and the proposition was tabled, 108 to 26.

Chronicles of the War.

The progress of the war during the last week has been marked by no event of striking importance. We could fill no small amount of space with facts and reports not devoid of interest, but of which our readers will see enough in other papers. It is believed by many that there will soon be a battle on the Potomac, and that the Union forces will shortly sweep down the Mississippi to attack the strongholds of the enemy. An advance is also expected in Kentucky. But all this is conjecture.

The Contrabands at Port Royal.

Hilton Head, Port Royal, S. C.,
Saturday, Nov. 30, 1861.

The contraband question is not less interesting in its features than important in its relation to the expedition and the whole war. Facts are so numerous that the difficulty is, to select from the mass of materials those which are most important. I can only repeat, to-day, a few of the statements which come to me from the best authority, observing in the first place that there are probably not more than three hundred in camp at present. Mr. B. K. Lee, Jr., who came out as Supercargo of the Ocean Queen, has charge, as Superintendent, of about one hundred and twenty. About one hundred are at Bay Point, where the 79th N. Y. is stationed, and the rest are in the employ of officers, or cannot be definitely accounted for. Those who come inside the lines are not allowed to leave, for any purpose, without a pass, and there is a watchful jealousy toward them, the ground of which it is difficult to understand. Their feeling of hostility to their late masters and gratitude to us is unmistakable and universal, and their readiness to work is shown in every way. The policy of Gen. Sherman, or whoever is responsible for his remarkable proclamation, I cannot pretend to fathom, nor am I able to see why their services should not relieve the overworked soldiers from some of the heaviest tasks imposed upon them. The coming of "the Yankees" has been watched for with anxious solicitude at this as at all other points, and the troops are hailed as deliverers wherever they go. Few negroes are so dull as to be imposed upon by the fictions of their masters that they are to be sold to Cuba, or would be worked day and night harder than ever, or other such inventions. The instances in which any attachment to their masters is shown are extremely few. Where dislike to leave the plantation exists, it arises from the local attachment, often strong in the negro, his love for his cabin, and desire to remain on the spot which has been his home, if he can remain free; and, in addition to this, more frequent and strong in his affection to his family. Domestic ties are necessary to his happiness, and he breaks them unwillingly. The slaves come slowly into camp for several reasons. The invitation held out is of the coldest—the accommodations, when in, are wretchedly insufficient—they cannot bring their families in any number—they cannot return for them if they are left behind—their condition on the deserted plantations is one of ease and comfort, and every obstacle to access to the camp is thrown in their way. That they have been shot in numbers by overseers and masters is beyond all question. The fact is attested by every sort of evidence from great numbers of persons who have no chance of concerted agreement in their accounts, and it tallies with the announced determination of the slave-owners, that they would destroy the negroes rather than suffer them to be freed. I do not know whether any effort is made to discredit the accounts already sent North, on the ground of incredible barbarity, or otherwise, but no one here affects to doubt the facts.

I have conversed with many of the negroes in camp and out of it. Their accounts are substantially alike, differing in detail. Officers of rank, with the full means of information, and after careful inquiry, assure me that the accounts first given, which have come back here, fall far short of the truth. It is not the exceptional cruelty of some more than usually brutal master, to which this is to be charged. The horrible fact stands out with appalling clearness and certainty that the murder of the slaves who cannot be compelled to follow their masters is a deliberate policy and relentless purpose. On the roads which lead to the islands, for thirty to fifty miles in all directions, guards are stationed to intercept the negroes and prevent their escape. If caught, they are sent inland, and there flogged, tortured, and imprisoned in irons. If they cannot be caught, they are shot without hesitation or mercy. At Beaufort a regular watch is maintained. When the gun-boats go up the river, as they do every two or three days, the whites keep out of the way. If the coast is clear they return in the day time as well as night. The negroes remaining in the place are captured, if possible, and taken to the mainland. If pursuit is unavailing, they, like the others attempting escape, are shot. I saw at Beaufort, yesterday, a negro who told me he had, the day before, been ordered to follow his overseer, and when he refused, four barrels of a revolving rifle were fired at him, not a shot took effect, and he escaped. I questioned and cross-examined this man with the greatest care, and I have no doubt whatever of the truth of his statement. It is a single instance, and I give it, because in this case at least I was able to satisfy myself of its correctness, and I may add, it was confirmed by two others of his comrades. His name is William, his master's name, as near as I could make it out, Chism, and the overseer's, Guest.

There is a more horrible story yet. A slave named Priscilla, formerly owned by Mr. Graham of Grahamville, now a servant of Capt. Charles E. Fuller, one of the Brigade Quartermasters, relates that before she left the plantation, the slaves were ordered into a barn to shell corn; that when all were in, the doors were locked, the barn was fired, and men, women and children were burned alive. Capt. Fuller assures me that he has no doubt of the fact. When, after such a horror as that, I add that two slaves captured at Beaufort a few days ago are known to have been taken to the mainland and hanged, I seem to record only a commonplace barbarity, the truth of which needs no affirmation. It is not merely men who are trying to escape that are murdered. The families of those who have escaped are treated with the utmost cruelty, and some of them have actually been massacred. The knowledge of the fact has created so much excitement among the negroes in camp that it was found necessary to double the guards, to prevent their leaving, in order to bring away or endeavor to hide their wives and children—a precaution the humanity of which requires no comment. The negroes themselves did undoubtedly believe that their families were in danger. The transmission of news is an act they understand to perfection, nor could there be any difficulty in receiving it in this case. I suppose the possibility of their conveying intelligence of our forces to the masters who were shooting their wives was considered strong enough to create a military necessity for their detention.

One other fact of a different nature, and I turn from this frightful picture of the amenities of the social institution, whose rights and immunities are so carefully acknowledged and protected. I am indebted for the account to Gen. Viele. There is a slave girl in camp who left her master under the following circumstances: She had been compelled to share her master's bed, and the tearful reluctance with which the story was gradually drawn from her showed how bitterly she felt the disgrace to which she had been compelled to submit. Her master's wife discovered the fact, removed her from the house, and inflicted upon the innocent victim of her husband's brutality the severest punishment—repeated floggings. She escaped at the first opportunity, and came to the camp. Is this tragedy horrible enough? *The girl was the personal attendant of her master's daughter, 15 years old.*

The intelligence and capacity of many of the negroes are far beyond what could be expected. I have one or two instances from the same source. An old negro driver came into camp whose memory went back to nullification times, and whose recollection was unusually clear and exact. "Yes, massa," he said, "I remember Gen. Jackson, and how things went on then. The people about here were just as strong then against the Union as they are now, but when the frigates came the people all went over again on their side, and I think Massa, if Massa Lincoln had sent all these ships here last spring, they'd ha' made all the people change just so again." I cannot pretend to give his words or dialect, but the substance is correct. The old man's statesmanlike estimate of South Carolina stability of character would have been most serviceable at Washington.

There is no wish on the part of the negroes to go North. They dread the cold, dislike to leave their homes—the attachment, as I have already explained, being local, not personal—and look intelligently forward to emancipation on the soil. A large number of them, who gathered about one of the officers, was much frightened on being asked whether they did not wish to be sent North, and an old man answered, "No, Massa, no; we don't want to go North. You *make this free State* and *pay us for our work, and let us all stay here.*" An answer which may help to dispel the dismal anticipation really entertained by some persons not otherwise unintelligent, that the North is to be overrun by liberated slaves. They have and can have neither the wish nor the means to forsake the soil on which they are born or bred.—*Tribune.*

Refusing to be a Slave-catcher.

Col. Lee, of the 27th Massachusetts Regiment, has taken the first opportunity offered to decline to go into the slave-catching business, by which some of the national officers have dirtied their fingers to no purpose. A young negro, who had just suffered a cruel beating, sought refuge in his camp at Annapolis the other day, and was received. His master afterwards came with several men and demanded him. Col. Lee declined to assist in the recapture of the negro. The master then began to bluster and threaten in the plantation style, when Col. Lee coolly informed him that if he thought he could take the negro he had better try, whereupon the master and his posse left the field, and the negro maintained his sovereignty. Good for the Colonel of the Twenty-seventh!—*Springfield Republican.*

Attempt to Kidnap at Port Royal.

The Port Royal correspondent of *The Tribune*, under date Nov. 30, says: "It is a rather singular circumstance that the opening of this harbor should be signalized by an effort at kidnapping and slave-trading. A ferryboat, built at New York for Havana, named Nulstra Senora de Regla, left about the same time with the fleet, was exposed to the gale and ran into Charleston. It is said an effort to seize her by the rebels to turn into a gunboat was only defeated by the energetic efforts of the Spanish Consul, and that afterward $50,000 was offered and refused for her. After the victory she came into harbor and has been here ever since, for what purpose no one seemed to know. Only a few days since one of her boats was discovered on shore endeavoring to kidnap some of the negroes remaining on one of the plantations, and a subsequent examination of the steamer herself disclosed the fact that she had already on board a considerable number, stowed away in the hold, and destined for Cuba and a market. Her captain was arrested and put in irons, and the steamer now lies under the guns of a sloop of war. So one more effort at the Christianization of the blacks has been put a stop to."

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Record of an Obscure Man. "Aux plus déshérités le plus d'amour. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. Pp. 216.

Having read this book with very deep interest, we were about to describe its character and aims for the benefit of our readers, when we found that *The Liberator* had already done the work with an accuracy and a completeness that left nothing to be desired. It says:

"From the anonymous way in which it is presented to the public, the reader cannot settle with himself, after its perusal, whether he rises from a novel or from a true story. Be it one or the other, it has all the charm of fiction with all the assurance of truth. It assumes to relate what befell the author, while travelling in the South in 1842. At the close of a rainy day, he obtains shelter for himself and horse at the farm of one who proves to be a native of Massachusetts. Transplanted to Southern soil, in order to reinforce the failing health of the father, a clergyman, the family had become reduced to Edward Colvil and his mother—the former a young man inheriting his father's taste for books, the latter an invalid from a spinal complaint. A free woman, Tabitha, completes the household, which exhibits all the thrift and tidiness of New England.

"A fever, resulting from his exposure, confines the author to that hospitable home for weeks. In that time he is enabled to admire the wonderful character of the mother, who, by her mental force, had sustained the spirit of the house, and not suffered the refinement and civilization of the East to sink into the slovenly barbarism of the South; he discovers the precious library which has saved the backwoods farmer from assimilating with his cattle and his clods; he forms a life-friendship with Edward Colvil. They converse often on various topics, but chiefly upon the nature, capacities, and sometimes the history, of the Arican race. Whenever this subject is started, Edward speaks warmly in support of the black man. He adduces copious extracts from the works of eminent travellers in Africa, to establish his favorable opinions in this regard, and by felicitous comparisons of extracts from poets, historians, and travellers in civilized lands, convicts the majority of readers of prejudice and distortion in their consideration of the Africans. He constantly insists on their being regarded like other human beings, and deprecates the mind which revolts at some barbarous custom of the negro of to-day, while it placidly accepts, if it does not enjoy, the identical barbarism among the classic peoples of the Mediterranean. The writer reluctantly confesses his conversion at every step. Edward's mother has revealed the fact that he is an author, and, at the solicitation of his new friend, Colvil produces the manuscript of a 'Tragedy of Errors.' It is meant only for reading, not for the stage. For five acts we have instead Morning, Noon, Evening, Night. The theme is derived from American slavery. Thus the sable thread runs through the book.

"Our author returns at length to his own home, bent on rescuing from obscurity this farmer genius, and from time to time receives portions of the tragedy from his Southern friend, who also exchanges journals with him, and writes much more in testimony of African virtue. At last, before half his plans are consummated or his dreams realized, Edward Colvil falls a prey to consumption, and his mother's death follows close on his. Our author loses his own father, from being rich becomes of a sudden bankrupt, starts anew in business, and is in the end again prosperous only to be lonely, for wife and children have passed from earth. The wish to make his friend Colvil's life of some profit to the world has induced him to publish this memorial volume. To carry out the fiction, or to confirm the truth of the facts narrated, we notice that the publishers have in press the 'Tragedy of Errors.'

"To this little sketch we may add, in a few words, what we have to say of the book. It is written in a pleasing style, not devoid of ornament, yet simple withal, and bears one on quietly but surely to the end. Such a studied tribute to the negro, in this way, we have never had the fortune to see. There is not a word of contempt, as there is not a word of adulation, for the race, in the whole book. The African is contemplated as a man apart from his accidents, and heavy must be the load of prejudice against color that is not lightened by the spirit and the truthfulness with which his claims are urged. This is no sensation book. There is not in it a reference to the present hour; there is no formal discussion of the right and wrong of slavery. The endeavor is made, forgetting place and time, to do justice to those who have been insulted, maltreated, and misrepresented, since they first fell into the clutches of civilized beings. If the attempt has been unsuccessful, the fault lies neither with Edward Colvil, with the author of the 'Record,' nor with the publishers. We wish the book the success which it deserves."

We have seen in several papers, likely to be well-informed, the statement that the author of this work is Mrs. Mary Putnam (sister of Prof. J. R. Lowell), whose defence of the cause of Hungary some years since, in reply to the hunkerish *North American Review*, awakened so much admiration among the friends of human rights. It certainly is not unworthy of her pen. We hope to find room for extracts erelong.

The Atlantic Monthly for December (notice of which has been delayed by the severe pressure on our columns for some weeks past), is a superior number. Here is a list of the articles: 1. "The Home of Lafayette," by Prof. G. W. Greene; 2. "A Field Night in the House of Commons," by F. Wayland, Jr.; 3. "A Legend of the Lake," by Whittier, already printed in our columns; 4. "Agnes of Sorrento," continued; 5. "A New Counterblast"—an admirable paper on the evils of Tobacco—by T. W. Higginson; 6. "The Wolves," a fine poem, by J. T. Trowbridge—already printed by us; 7. "A Story of To-day," continued; 8. "Health in the Hospital," by Mrs. Martineau; 9. "A Story of Thanksgiving-Time," by J. W. Newcombe, Jr.—admirably told; 10. "Song in a Dream"; 11. "England and Emancipation," a historical sketch; 12. "Union and Liberty," a song, by Holmes; 13. "How to Rough it"; 14. "Self-Possession *vs.* Prepossession," a paper on the War, by Prof. Lowell; 15. Reviews and Literary Notices.

The publishers, Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, promise a series of papers on Natural History by Prof. Agassiz, and contributions by Hawthorne, Dr. Windship, George S. Hillard, the late Theodore Winthrop, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, Bayard Taylor and others.

The Song of the Contrabands—"O let my People go"—words and music obtained through the Rev. L. C. Lockwood, Chaplain of the Contrabands at Fortress Monroe, arranged by Thomas Baker. Published by Horace Waters, 481 Broadway. This song, Mr. Lockwood says, has been sung for about nine years by the slaves of Virginia. He has done well to send it North, where it cannot fail to awaken fresh sympathy for the bondman.

Mr. Sumner's Oration, lately delivered in this city, has been printed in pamphlet form, for the Young Men's Republican Union, at the office of *The Rebellion Record*, 532 Broadway. We infer that it will in due time appear in that publication. A few copies have been left at this office for gratuitous distribution.

Madame Demorest's Quarterly Mirror of Fashion for the winter season is ornamented by a colored plate representing eight varieties of costume. It is also furnished with various articles of children's winter dresses, and every elegant device for a lady's entire outfit. This work must be of essential utility, not only to the trade, but to ladies who have not the skill to make dresses for themselves and their children.

Littell's Living Age comes to us weekly, filled with matter of permanent interest—essays, reviews, historical sketches, biographies, tales, poems, etc.—selected chiefly, though not exclusively, from European sources. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

Disagreement of the Reporters.—How versatile an art is newspaper reporting! For example, Theodore Tilton's lecture of last week on "The Latest Questions of the War" was reported in the Brooklyn *City News* and Brooklyn *Eagle*; but one of those papers said that the lecture was "received with perfect silence," and the other "with enthusiastic cheering, clapping of hands, and waving of handkerchiefs." Brooklyn is a great city of small newspapers, where the lively reporters have it all their own way.

Tract for the Day.—"The War and Slavery; or, Victory only through Emancipation," is the title of a tract of 8 pages, just published at this office. It is a reprint of an excellent article, from the pen of D. Plumb, which appeared in this paper a few weeks since, and which leading friends of the cause deem worthy of the widest circulation at the present crisis. It is not for sale, but for gratuitous distribution. Friends of the cause, who know where light is needed and would be welcomed in respect to the duty and policy of Emancipation under the War Power, are requested to call at this office at once and take as many copies as they can distribute judiciously.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY S

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

RED, WHITE, AND BLUE.

From the threshold the soldier-boy turned him to go,
Heavy-hearted, though stanch, to encounter the foe;
Northward he turned. From the very same place
His brother and comrade set southward his face;
But his face, o'er his shoulder, anon looked its hate:
"Farewell, traitor"—it cried—"to your own native State!"
The boy stopped. The taunt set his blood all astir:
"While loyal was she, I was loyal to her;
A recreant State, it is no State for me;
I stand by my country, whoever may flee.
If a traitor be nigh,
I think 'tis not I."
Then tears quenched the lightning that flashed in his eye:
"Bid our mother good-bye! If her letter was cold,
Or stern, say that still I loved her as of old,
But, cherished or outcast, I could but be true
To the oaths I had sworn—to the Red, White, and Blue."
"Then cross not my path,
Heaven's thunder and wrath
Go with you, where'er
Your treason you bear,
And with me, if we meet in the field, but I'll tear
Your dastardly colors in triumph away,
Though your whole North crowd round you to hold me at bay."
He swore and he cursed—
"If you will, do your worst;
You wake small alarm;
Not weak is my arm;
God grant that it never my brother may harm.
I shrink not from Death when this life is so sore,
But 'twere best for us both if we never met more;
For, living or dying, I can but be true
To our soldierly oath and the Red, White, and Blue."

* * * * * * *

At midnight, the rebel rode home from the fight.
"Are you safe?" "Yes." "What news?" "We have conquered to-night,
In a skirmish. To-morrow—I know not—they say
The enemy's pouring in masses this way.
No matter—here's sport. When their sergeant we shot,
I saw a young officer dart to the spot,
And snatch up the banner. He swallowed my lead
In his turn; but the pestilent Yankee, if dead,
Still stuck to his colors. See here." With a laugh,
He showed a pale hand that still clung round the staff.
"Now God, who looked on,
Forgive you, my son!
But this is a pitiless deed you have done
To the dead"—to the rebel his mother then said;
"War on with the living; war not with the dead.
'Twas enough for the stripling to perish alone.
Poor hand! Look! 'Tis almost as small as my own,
That so often at bedtimes in blessing I've laid
On you, and your far-away brother's young head.
I was cruel to curse him. Oh, where is he now?
Shall I ever press more these harsh lips to his brow?
This standard was worthless to me and to you;
Why not leave to the poor corse its Red, White, and Blue?"
On his bed tossed the rebel, and sprang with a start
From a dream of a hand that lay cold on his heart.
"Fetch a spade!" With his foot, as he passed through the door,
He stirred up the negro that slept on the floor;
"To the Yankee I'll give—give the devil his due—
A grave in return for his Red, White, and Blue."
Through the corpses, while Darkness was struggling with Light,
They stumbled and groped o'er the field of the fight.
As the Dawn kissed the Dew,
His brother he knew.
There was no speech nor breath;
But the boy smiled in death;
Like no victim despoiled—like a victor—he lay,
Where he lay all alone,
With one gallant hand gone.
O'er the still heart they parted the blue coat away.
The snowy cold bosom the blood had gushed through.
He still bore his colors, the Red, White, and Blue.

E. FOXTON.

MERCY TORTURED INTO CRIME.

A CLERGYMAN IMPRISONED UNDER THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

HIS ADDRESS TO THE COURT.

CLEVELAND (O.) JAIL, Dec. 2, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti Slavery Standard.

You will perceive, by the enclosed address to the United States Court, that I am confined in the Cleveland Jail. I was convicted of the so-called crime of "resisting process in the hands of a U. S. Deputy Marshal," in his attempt to arrest a fugitive slave. My sentence is, six months' *"close confinement"* in the County Jail, $300 fine, and the costs of prosecution—probably $1,500 more. The thing occurred on the night of the 20th September, 1860. My trial commenced on Thursday morning, 21st November, and on Saturday night the verdict was brought in. On Tuesday, 26th, I was sentenced. I had supposed the matter would give me no further trouble, but was mistaken. The Judge (Wilson) is the same before whom the Oberlin men were tried. His charge was candid and mild. I don't think he expected conviction. As soon as I was in his power he was himself again. He was once indicted for kidnapping, and retains his hatred of men of my principles and character. You will favor me by publishing the Address. I am, as you know, a Free Presbyterian minister, President of Iberia College, a small institution under the care of the Synod, where white and black are alike admitted. In politics I am a Radical Abolitionist. Yours, in bonds, GEO. GORDON.

MR. GORDON'S ADDRESS TO THE COURT.

From The Cleveland Leader.

BELOW we publish the remarks to the U. S. Court of Rev. George Gordon, President of the Iberia College, who was tried for "obstructing the process" of the Fugitive Slave law in that place. That he does not respect and will not obey the Fugitive Slave law, Mr. Gordon frankly admits, but the severity of the sentence is beyond all reason. It is a pure act of cruelty and vindictiveness upon the part of the presiding Judge, for it rested with him to determine the amount of fine and imprisonment. He could as well, so far as compliance with the law is concerned, have given Mr. Gordon twenty-four hours' as six months' confinement. At a time when the life of the country is assailed by the Slave Power, the people are not ready to look with leniency upon any servile and extra-judicial bowing down to worship the god of slavery:

YOUR HONOR: Some things in my situation would seem to commend silence. The form of a trial has been passed—my counsel has been heard in a defence of marked ability—and a verdict of guilty has been brought in by the jury. Nothing, therefore, remains for me but to receive the sentence and endure it to the bitter end. I cannot say anything that will modify or mitigate its severity. Yet I stand before the Court in the full confidence of rectitude, without any sense of guilt or abasement. I utter no apologies, make no confessions. Why, then, do I stand branded as a criminal before the Court, and yet enjoy feelings of innate rectitude? Two reasons contain the answer. First, the principal witness in this prosecution has given a testimony in some points utterly false, in others immensely exaggerated. This put me in a false position before the jury. Had I received a new trial, as was requested, much of this false impression could have been removed. The second reason is, that my conduct was guided by the *express will of God as revealed in the Scriptures*, a standard clearly opposed to the fugitive slave enactments, and not recognized by this tribunal.

The two slave-hunters were neither threatened with hanging, or shooting, or if they were, I never heard of it, till testified by them in court. The statement is a mere fabrication—even the raw material manufactured. My arrival on the ground was not ten minutes before the whole thing was over. One of our colored young men had twice been shot at, and wounded by them, or part of their company. One claimed as a slave had been seized and violently dragged away. Under all this provocation the company acted. When I arrived, I was told they had received a few stripes. Some ten or fifteen more were laid on, whilst I was present, and with my consent. The men begged forbearance, and the matter ceased. I handed no one a stick with directions to lay on more—told no one to suppress my name—struck no one myself—nor did I administer an oath to any. I did stand by with consent, whilst ten, perhaps fifteen, lashes were laid on. I did not know whether they were slaveholders, marshals deputies or assistants, and it is but candid to say, I did not care. I then told one of them that the chastisement he had received had been inflicted by some of the best men in the community, men who would not hurt a hair of his head, but protect him to the fullest extent, in any decent business. But that slave-catching we could not tolerate. His reply was, "this will be a lesson to me. I knew it was a mean business when I went into it, but thought I could not well help it. I will go home and resign my office, and never do so again." Had I consented to one-half the severity, or been capable of consenting to it, as testified by the deputy, I would despise myself, and merit the reprobation of all good men. Neither the false testimony of the witness, nor the point given it in the bitter pleadings of the attorney, will be believed by any who know me. What I did do, I thought then, and still think was fully right. For the chastisement inflicted on these slave-catchers, I was not on trial. That belonged to the jurisdiction of another Court. I am convicted of "obstructing process" in the hands of a United States Deputy Marshal, in his attempt to capture and return to bondage a fugitive slave. That act was toward a judicial kidnapper, armed with the authority of a wicked and diabolical statute. By the law of the Almighty, the slaveholder was capitally punished. The law given amid the lightnings of Sinai was, "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death." Three forms of the crime are named: kidnapping, slave-trading, and slaveholding. In other capital offences the sentence was, he shall die—but in this, he shall surely be put to death.

All slavery begins with some form of man-stealing, and retains its essential element in its forms of descent or transmission. Men can neither buy nor inherit a better title than the pretended owner has to sell or bequeath. A hundred sales of a stolen horse don't make the title good; nor can that of a stolen man be better. Then can a marshal, or deputy, acting for a slaveholder to reclaim a stolen man, be less guilty? Is he not, by the same law, an official kidnapper? If God required the parent transgressor to be put to death, is it sinful and a crime to give his proxy a few stripes? Was it not merited by these men, when they were trying their utmost to drag back their victim to perhaps two hundred lashes and life-long bondage? Job was declared by his Maker to be "a perfect and upright man, one who feared God and eschewed evil"—the best on earth in his day. Yet the good man says, "the cause that I knew not I searched out, and I brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth." Did we do anything more severe?

Again, by the Psalmist, God says, "deliver the poor and needy, rid them out of the hands of the wicked." And again he says, "thou shalt not return to his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee." To the same purport is all that class of texts by which we are commanded "to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, hide the outcast, bewray not him that wandereth." Now, by all these, and uncounted texts not quoted, what the fugitive slave enactment requires is expressly forbidden, and is therefore null and without moral force.

And again, by the best law authority, it has no legal force. From Blackstone, who declares that "all laws derive their force from the laws of nature, and those which do not are accounted no laws," to the noble New England judge, who refused to give up the fugitive to his claimant, until he would bring "a bill of sale from the Almighty himself"; the best authorities speak one language. What force then has the fugitive enactment? Simply the force of muscle, handcuffs, bowie knives and pistols, used in its execution. Compliance with such a statute is crime. "We must obey God rather than men."

Civil government, with its legitimate powers (only), is of God. He exercises it through the people. Their voice is, in theory, and should be in fact, the voice of God. Hence every enactment that contradicts the Divine will, is without either moral or legal authority, and can only be carried out by brute force. All the constitutions ever made, and all the oaths ever administered, can give it no higher authority. Can anything be plainer than this? Or anything more absurd than its opposite? Has not Jehovah a right to govern the world He made, and the people He placed on it? Ought He not do it? Is it not His duty? Can He confer on men a right to violate at pleasure His own law? Does He give any legislative or judicial body power to absolve the individual from obedience to His will, and make it his duty to observe their enactments? Will He bow to wickedness because the majority decree them? If so, the prophets were fools, the apostles nullifiers, and Christian martyrs madmen. If so, Christianity in its first principles is treason, and Jehovah's claim to rule the world intensified presumption! The truth is, that all this ridicule of the "higher law" by drivelling politicians and knavish hunkers is sheer bold atheism. It makes majorities omnipotent, and sinks their Maker into nothing.

But whilst I claim to have acted in conformity with the will of God, I utterly deny that I violated, either the letter or spirit of a single article of the Constitution. That it don't name a slave all agree. That its framers kept out deliberately every word or phrase that might express the condition of a slave is matter of history.

It speaks of a "person owing service"—but a slave is not a "person" in the language of (so called) Southern laws, but a "chattel," or a thing. Neither can he well owe much to the man who has robbed him of life-long wages. It speaks of returning persons to those to whom "labor is due"; but nothing was due the slaveholder by the laws of Israel's God, except the labor it took to stone him to death, and nothing is now due five-sixths, perhaps nineteen-twentieths, of the slaveholders of this land, even in public opinion, except the amount of shot or shell required to kill or capture them. I therefore stand before you clear of any violation of the Constitution, or constitutional law. If the people don't believe this now, they soon will.

But again: If the framers of the Constitution had a right to make the compromises claimed, and if they actually had made them, still, the frequent, flagrant, and outrageous violations by the South would long since have cancelled our obligations. It is a common principle of justice, morals, and perhaps of law, that where the conditions of a contract are broken by one party, they are of no binding force on the other. Now, the slaveholders have violently and persistently trampled down every provision of the Constitution, and the laws of Congress under it, whenever their interests, inclinations, or passions, led them to desire it. Who can number the Northern citizens who have been mobbed, maltreated and abused, from the Hon. Mr. Hoar to the last sentinel stealthily shot! And finally, these violations by slaveholders have gone to seed, in the most diabolical rebellion the world has ever seen. And now, sir, after our public property has been plundered to the amount of millions, our forts and arsenals seized, our flag insulted and struck down, and our soldiers slain on a hundred battle-fields, by slaveholders and the Slave Power, this Court is dealing out its sentence on my head, because I "resisted process" in the hands of these minions, when they were trying to drag back a defenceless man to cheerless and returnless bondage. Imprisonment, fines and costs, which for a time will remove my liberty, and sweep away my little property, and reduce me to the lowest poverty, are to fall upon me for performing this duty to God and humanity.

But I will be told the meeting that did this was a mob. I deny it. Whenever a government steps out of its legitimate business, and instead of protecting human rights, crushes them out, *it becomes the mob power*. Truth and equity, and the revealed will of God, all proclaim it such. It will also be said, good order cannot be maintained without obedience to existing enactments. I answer, all these can be secured without slaveholders or slave-hunters; and then, good men will not come in collision with the courts.

But the Slave Power still rules, and I must suffer. Then be it so. "The beginning of the end has come." Though slavery yet rules, it is only in the death throes and last contractions of its mighty heart. The iron logic of events is changing public sentiment, and few look on slave-catching as anything but a mean and infamous business. The slaveholder himself despises the man who catches his fugitive. He looks on him as he does his bloodhound—calls him up and scents him on the track—doles out to him his reward—and then looks on him with utter contempt. A few words more and I'll have done. In respect to the charge to the jury, I cast no reflections on the Court. In so far as I had ability to judge, it was fair and candid. My counsel made an able, eloquent, and manly defence. Though I was put in a very untrue position before the jury, still I think they need not, and know they ought not, to have convicted me. Some of them will not retain the remembrance of the act among their cherished memories.

We are all passing to another tribunal, where the fugitive enactment will be at a discount. To have "resisted process" in the hands of a judicial kidnapper will not there be regarded as a crime. The blessing of the Judge will fall upon such as fed him when hungry, took him in when a stranger, and visited him in prison; and all this he will acknowledge to have been done to him—if done to his poor. To another class He will say, "inasmuch as ye did not these things to the least of my brethren, ye did them not to me." If Grandson Marten be a Christian, the so-called crime for which I am now to be sentenced is for resisting an attempt to drag back Christ himself to the crucifixion of perpetual slavery, in the person of his chattelized representatives. If he be not a Christian, still it was resistance to the crime of reducing God's image to a slave, and crushing out his aspirations to be a man.

And now, sir, apart from the defense of the rectitude of my conduct, I have no favors to crave—no mercy to implore. I stand erect, in conscious integrity and manhood. My house has ever been a home for the fleeing fugitive, and shall be so still. If my dwelling be reduced to a cabin, he shall be welcome to a corner. All the devils in hell, and slave-catchers out of hell, shall not close my door against him. I cannot repress the hope that in this line of persecutions I may be the last victim of the Slave Power. Whether this be so or not, I wish when "all that's mortal" of your humble prisoner shall be in its last resting place, it may be with truth written on my grave stone, "here lie the remains of one who in life was faithful to God's poor."

MY LITTLE SWEETHEART.*

BY ALICE CARY.

Ah! sad are they of whom no poet writes,
Nor ever any story-teller hears—
The childless mothers who, on lonesome nights,
Sit by their fires and weep, having the chores
Done for the day, and time enough to see
All the wide floors
Swept clean of playthings; they, as needs must be,
Have time enough for tears.

But there are griefs more sad
Than ever any childless mother had—
You know them, who do smother nature's cries
Under poor masks
Of smiling, slow despair—
Who put your white and unadorning hair
Out of your way, and keep at homely tasks,
Unblest with any praises of men's eyes,
Till death comes to you with his piteous care,
And to unmarriageable beds you go,
Saying, "It is not much—tis well, if so
We only be made fair,
And looks of love await us as we rise."

My cross is not as hard as theirs to bear,
And yet alike to me are storms or calms.
My life's young joy
The brown checked farmer boy,
Who led the daisies with him like his lambs,
Carved his sweet pictures on my milking pail,
And cut my name upon his threshing-flail,
One day stopped singing at his plow—alas!
Before that summer-time was gone, the grass
Had choked the path which to the sheep-field led,
Where I had watched him tread
So oft on evening's trail—
A shining oat-sheaf balanced on his head,
And nodding to the gale.

Rough wintry weather came, and when it sped,
The emerald wave,
Swelling above my little sweetheart's grave,
With such bright bubbly flowers was set about,
I thought he blew them out,
And so took comfort that he was not dead.

For I was of a rude and ignorant crew,
And hence believed whatever things I saw
Were the expression of a hidden law;
And, with a wisdom wiser than I knew,
Evoked the simple meanings out of things
By childlike questionings.

And he they named with shudderings of fear
Had never, in his life, been half so near
As when I sat all day with cheeks unkissed,
And listened to the whisper, very low,
That said our love, above death's wave of woe,
Was joined together like the seamless mist.

And often yet, upon the shining track
Of the old faith, come back
My childish fancies, never quite subdued,
And when the sunset shuts up in the wood
The whispery sweetness of uncertainty,
And night, with misty locks that loosely drop,
About his ears, brings rest, a welcome boon,
Playing his pipe with many a starry stop
That makes a golden snarling in his tune;

I see my little lad
Under the leafy shelter of the boughs,
Driving his noiseless, visionary cows,
Clad in a beauty I alone can see.
Laugh, you who never had
Your dead come back, but do not take from me
The harmless comfort of my foolish dream,
That these our mortal eyes,
Which outwardly reflect the earth and skies,
Do introvert upon eternity;

And that the shapes you deem
Imaginations just as clearly fall
Each from its own divine original,
And through some subtle element of light,
Upon the inward, spiritual eye,
As do the things which round about them lie,
Gross and material, on the external sight.

* This poem appeared anonymously in our columns several months ago, since which many of our friends have testified their sense of its beauty and questioned us as to its authorship. In reprinting it we append the writer's name, which, unknown to us at first, we are glad to see linked with a production which has given pleasure to so many of our readers.—ED. STANDARD.

GERRIT SMITH TO EDWIN CROSWELL.

PETERBORO, November 27, 1861.

EDWIN CROSWELL, Esq.—*Dear Sir:* I have just read your letter to Col. Cochrane. It gratifies me not a little to find that your influence which, so long as twenty, thirty, and even forty years ago, was so very potent, is given to the furtherance of his wise and timely views on a point of vital importance to the country. You agree with the Colonel in the duty of availing ourselves of the black man's help to put down the rebels. I regret your mistake that the Abolitionists do not also agree with him. Your public declaration that they do not is of very injurious tendency—not to them only, but (and this is of far greater consequence) to the country and to the sacred cause in which the whole country should be united.

You desire it to be, and to be known and felt to be, that all classes of our people stand with Col. Cochrane in this respect. And in your judgment they all do excepting the Abolitionists—or, as you phrase it, "excepting in Abolition quarters." Your exception is not warranted by facts. From the breaking out of the rebellion until the present time the Abolitionists, having been constantly in earnest to crush it, have been constantly eager to secure to this end the help of black men as well as white men. I am myself an Abolitionist. Nevertheless I have written and spoken much for the identical position taken by Col. Cochrane.

Instead of holding up the Abolitionists as opposed to Col. Cochrane's views, you ought to do them the justice to acknowledge that, from the first, these views have been theirs also. I am not asking you to relax your opposition to their Abolition doctrines. Denounce these, if you will, more emphatically than ever. Expose to the utmost their folly in believing that the abolition of slavery would be an effective means for routing the rebels. Only admit that however wrong they are in other respects they are clearly identified with these views of Col. Cochrane.

I confess that I am sadly disappointed in this war. I took it for granted that our whole people would very soon be in favor of employing all means to bring it to the speediest end. The Abolitionists are. But considerable portions of all other parties are not. Without denying that salvation can come to my country alone through her penitence for her oppression, I nevertheless cannot hope for such penitence as long as she is so infatuated as to be unwilling to be saved by whatever muscles and means. The best I can as yet hope for (and even for this hope there is but too little encouragement), is that the whole North may soon rally around the position taken by Col. Cochrane, yourself and the Abolitionists.

But you will say that the Abolitionists are in favor of abolishing slavery. It is true that they are. And this, if you please, is their folly—nay, their wickedness, if you will so have it. Nevertheless, why argue from this folly and wickedness that they are not with Col. Cochrane when you see that they are?

I am not writing an eulogy upon the Abolitionists. If I were, I would say that no other men are more cordially in the armed movement against the rebels. I would say that in proportion to their numbers no other men have furnished more soldiers or more comforts for soldiers and soldiers' families. I would say that none of them have come under so much as the slightest suspicion of indulging the secession spirit or the slightest suspicion of sympathy with the rebels. I would say that Abolitionist is only another name for an intense hater of the rebellion. Moreover, I would say that they are ever ready to join hands with all in this great national fight against rebellion. They can go into it with anti-Abolitionists of every type—with those who admiringly read the New York *Herald*, the New York *Express*, *The Journal of Commerce*, and with those who feel that they cannot get to sleep without having a New York *Observer* under their pillow. Into this fight I am as much bound to welcome the pro-slavery James Gordon Bennett as the anti-slavery Horace Greeley. The North is contending with a strong enemy whose hands may soon be strengthened with stronger enemies. In these circumstances she cannot afford to be divided by miserable party prejudices and jealousies. To such an enemy she must present an unbroken front. I must be willing to work with you, and you with me, for the success of our arms—for in this we can work together, our differences about abolition or anything else to the contrary notwithstanding. God grant that all Northern men may be able to tolerate their mutual differences so far as to stand shoulder to shoulder against the enemy.

I am not surprised to learn, as I do from the postscript of your letter, that Mr. Dickinson concurs with yourself and Col. Cochrane. Months ago I ascertained that he was more than a partisan—that he was a patriot, and was therefore ready to have the country saved by whatever means and at whatever expense to party or to anything else.

Happy am I to know that you, and Mr. Dickinson, and many other distinguished Democrats feel that after the enemy is vanquished will be soon enough to recollect and reconstruct the Democratic party. Then, too, the Abolitionists will have more leisure for busying themselves with what Democrats regard as Abolition nonsense. Then, too, merchants, manufacturers and solemn priests, may find more time and opportunity for contriving new guarantees for slavery. But until the enemy is vanquished, let us, whatever the divisions among ourselves, be as one against him. Until then let us care comparatively nothing to save this party or that, this constitution or that, this system or that. Until then let our one concern be to SAVE THE COUNTRY. That saved, and we can restore the old Constitution or make a new one; but that lost and we shall have no need of either. That saved, and there will be an ample theatre for parties to all who delight in them. That saved, and they who regard slavery as a blessing may find themselves in circumstances more favorable than ever for making the blessing abundant and sure.

The Abolitionists have always had the reputation of being bigoted and exclusive. But do not the broad common sense and the preëminent liberality which characterize them in this war, go far to prove that they did not merit this bad reputation? Look, for instance, at the admirable course of their most distinguished leaders, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Ever since the bombardment of Sumter these bold iconoclastic reformers have addressed themselves to the new duties of the new circumstances with a practical wisdom unsurpassed by that of the most calm and conservative statesmen. No men are more intent on saving the country; and no men see more clearly the folly of trying to save it by a partial use of the means for saving it. Nor are any more free to work with any in putting down the rebellion. Glad are they to have even the most pro-slavery men for their fellows in this work. The Garrison and Phillips school of Abolitionists have wisely suspended their strictures on the Constitution, and I would that the other school might suspend their defences of it. Just now there is not one minute, no, nor half a minute, to be spared to either school for presenting its view of the Constitution. My friend Henry B. Stanton gives a very amusing account of a gentleman who, in the midst of the broken bones of a railroad accident, kept on arguing the anti-slavery character of the Constitution. Indeed, so entirely unreasonable is all present talk of the Constitution, that, unless I know him to be the friend of the country, I set down every one, who is wasting his own time and the time of others with such talk, as the enemy of the country. I do not deny that there are many honest men who feel that their country would be lost if the Constitution should be. They are more honest than enlightened. If left without a country, we would indeed be left without a Constitution. But it does not follow that we should be left without a country, were we left without a Constitution. It is not the Constitution that gave us the country, but the country that gave us the Constitution. The Constitution did not so much as give us our government. On the contrary, our government gave us our Constitution. We had our government before we had our Constitution. The principle of Democracy was our government; and the Constitution but served to point out some of the modes by which the principle should govern. The Constitution did not create the union of the American people. Traditions, common memories and common hopes, fellowship in faith and fellowship in suffering did. The Constitution but enjoined ways for making an already existing Union "a more perfect Union."

Let us, then, have no fear that we shall be left without a Constitution. If the country survives the war, we shall not fail to have a Constitution; and if it does not, we shall not need one. Our present Constitution may be roughly handled by the necessities of war. Parts of it may be modified, and parts utterly destroyed. It may even need to be abandoned. Not only, however, shall we have a Constitution if we have a country, but we shall have a Democratic Constitution, if only the Democratic principle shall have survived. For wherever that principle lives and reigns will be Democratic Constitutions. It produces such, and it can produce only such. England would not cease to be England, and to have a government, by the repudiation of any, however large part of that long series of precedents which make up her Constitution. Should she lose one Constitution she would quickly have another. And the Constitution, which would come out of the great liberty-loving heart of her people would be essentially a free Constitution.

Among the blessings which will result from this war, provided we shall have the wisdom to conquer in it (thus far we have had the power but not the wisdom to use it), among these blessings, I say, will be the restored love of country. That love was once the passion of the American heart. But demagogues have succeeded in making the passion give place to the worship of the Constitution; and should our country perish in its present perils, it will be owing to this unhappy substitution. President Lincoln is a man of understanding and of honest intentions; and why he has not, ere this, ended the war and saved the country, is simply because he is a worshipper of the Constitution, and feels that he can love and honor and serve and save the country only through the Constitution. Every breach made in the Constitution is, in his eye, a breach made in the country; and with him the alarming prospect of a lost Constitution is all one with the alarming prospect of a lost country. But the good man cannot help it. For how rare is he who is able to surmount his education! And the President was educated to worship the Constitution. This education hampers him at every step. With all his heart would he save the country, but his reverence for the Constitution will not let him. He is capable of purposes to sweep away, even in his native Kentucky, every obstruction in the path of our cause. But palsied would be these purposes by such an appeal to that reverence as a Crittenden or Holt would make in the bare mention of constitutional objections.

Miserable substitute for the love of country is this worshipping of a paper!—quite as miserable as is the making more account of the suit of clothes than of the man who wears it! Yes, if the war shall have no other good effect than to bring back the popular heart from this debasing, shrivelling worship to the expanding and ennobling love of country, it will be worth all it has cost.

The one thing which, from the beginning of the war, I have striven for, is to contribute, so far as my little influence can, to band together all men and women, white, red and black, in the invincible determination to save the country—and to save it, too, even though it be in the face of the certainty that the saving of it will involve the destruction of party, slavery, Constitution and what not else. Nothing short of this determination can suffice to overcome our foe. For he is most emphatically a determined foe—determined to wield every possible power and avail himself of every possible advantage for success. Whilst our boasted high style of civilization forbids our following the example, he calls the bloody Indian to his aid; and whilst we send back his fugitive slaves, he makes slaves his most effective helpers. And so determined is he, that he will spare nothing which stands in the way of his success. Not even slavery will he spare, if the sacrifice shall become necessary to his success. Rather than come under the North, he would unhesitatingly emancipate his slaves. A prominent member of the government told me that slaveholding pride would prevent this. There *was* such pride—but it exists no longer. It is swallowed up in the all-swallowing up pride to whip the North. When hard pressed by our victories, the South will (provided we shall continue so insane as to leave them in her hands) not hesitate to make unconquerable allies of her slaves by emancipating them. And, by the way, she would not fail to take into account the gaining of the world's sympathy by the measure. But there are persons who remind us that the South, inasmuch as she went to war for slavery, will never consent to give it up. Superficial thinkers are they. The cause of a quarrel is generally lost sight of. The parties to it forget the cause in their passion to conquer. The dog or the dollar about which men came to blows is not what sustains and swells the interest of the battle: it is the blows themselves. That stage of the controversy in which the object of the South was the establishing of slavery was passed months ago. The joy of her final success against our invading armies would be scarcely at all diminished by the attendant loss of all her slaves.

I repeat what I have often said—THE PARTY WHICH GETS THE BLACKS TO FIGHT FOR IT, GETS THE VICTORY. May God move our Congress and our Commanders, whilst yet it is not too late, to get the blacks to fight for us.

But I must stop. I thank you for your letter. It cannot fail to do great good. I beg you, however, not to ignore the fact that the Abolitionists are with you, and Mr. Dickinson, and Colonel Cochrane. Be not ashamed of your company—for you may be sure that, before this fight is through with, you will feel the need of the help of all the despised classes—the negroes, the Indians and even the Abolitionsts. Do not peril your country for the sake of gratifying old prejudices.

Respectfully your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

THE CRUSE THAT FAILETH NOT.

"It is more blessed to give than to receive."

Is thy cruse of comfort wasting? rise and share it with another,
And through all the years of famine, it shall serve thee and thy brother:
Love divine will fill thy storehouse, or thy handful still renew;
Scanty fare for one will often make a royal feast for two.

For the heart grows rich in giving; all its wealth is living grain;
Seeds, which mildew in the garner, scattered, fill with gold the plain.

Is thy burden hard and heavy? Do thy steps drag wearily?
Help to bear thy brother's burden; God will bear both it and thee.

Numb and weary on the mountains, wouldst thou sleep amidst the snow?
Chafe that frozen form beside thee, and together both shall glow.

Art thou stricken in life's battle; many wounded round thee moan;
Lavish on their wounds thy balsams, and that balm shall heal thine own.

Is the heart a well left empty? None but God its void can fill;
Nothing but a ceaseless fountain can its ceaseless longing still.

Is the heart a living power? Self-entwin'd, its strength sinks low;
It can only live in loving, and by serving love will grow.

IN MEMORIAM.

WASHINGTON, Sunday, Dec. 1, 1861

INDEED, the world moves, and rapidly, too—more rapidly than old Galileo dreamed it did. He counted its revolutions only by measures of time. He was right and wrong, both. Far as he was in advance with his great idea, he was yet far short of the vast reality. Perhaps it was well for him that he had not preconceived the idea of recording the momentum of the orbits by the events which transpired on its surface; for if he had, the Fathers of the Church might not have let him off with so simple a penalty as a recantation of the heresy. Suppose the old astronomer had foretold that in so many ages, the world would move away from the recollection of themselves, or remembered them only as his persecutors! Not all the disavowals he could have framed would have saved him from the tortures of the dungeon. He was literally dead to the world after that.

Two years ago to-morrow, not far from this Capital of the nation, an old man was the centre of an army more vast in its proportions (when measured by the necessities of the occasion) than that which now clusters around Washington. Like Galileo, he had believed that the world was moving. Not content with that, however, he had madly endeavored to accelerate its progress by adding the impetuous momentum of his own restless mind. Though the world was moving, it was moving slowly—so slowly that the rash old man was crushed against its impenetrable sides, and borne from the conflict he had precipitated, a mangled and disfigured body, toward which the slowly-moving world pointed its finger of warning, half in contempt for his madness, half in pity for his folly, but all in anger for his infatuation. When the half madman and all martyr rode upon his coffin to the gallows, to expiate the crime of having hoped for the emancipation of his fellow-men from a bondage that cursed both them and the nation, the world thought that it had recovered from the shock of the blow he had inflicted, and that it might for perhaps as many ages as had intervened between Galileo and the doomed culprit of Harper's Ferry, roll on unmoved with its accustomed slow and measured pace. The world thought that the rope had tied up all future heroes and thinkers, and that it might settle back into the old way of blessing the executioner and cursing the condemned, and no voice should be raised in denunciation of the halter and in vindication of the criminal. The Fathers of Naples slumbered in peace when Galileo retraced his steps, and with his tongue gave the lie to his instincts. So the world was quiet, or thought itself at rest, when the coffin of JOHN BROWN went through the long files of armed men that Virginia mustered to recover possession of the territory he so suddenly wrested from her grasp. How much mistaken the world was—how much indeed. In only two years it has traversed a space so vast—if measured by events—that the mind can hardly compass the distance that spreads away back, and back, and back to its point of departure. Only two years, and men that then looked upon JOHN BROWN as a martyr, or excused him as a fanatic, or censured him as a precipitant, are to assemble together to commemorate the event of his death as one of the great epochs of history. Frail, and human, and rash, and fanatic, and precipitant as he was, the world has recorded that he gave it a lusty thrust, and a momentum that all the conservatives and holdbacks of the age and the nation have in vain sought to diminish. So, to-morrow evening, the minds of the nation will think his praises, and utter them, too, here in the Capital, where a quarter of a million of armed and resolute men have encamped to defend the nation against the assaults of that very institution he died to destroy. We talk always of the justice of Providence, and the wisdom that prompts the divine action. Do we realize, as we ought, that in the rash attempt of JOHN BROWN, in his trial, in the torture he endured so calmly, in the death he so bravely met, and the speedy annihilation of his judges and executioners, and the institutions of which they were the creatures—we have the greatest and most striking embodiment of Divine retribution to which man can point? With his history before us—with the example of his courage and his trust—with the speedy fulfilment of his hopes, and the crowning glory of his atonement so vividly symboled in the events that have since transpired, who will question the inspiration that guided the sufferer of Charlestown; who will doubt he had felt that

"Whether on the scaffold high,
Or in the battle's van,
The noblest death that man can die
Is when he dies for man;"

and that, moved by the recollection of the fact, he had acted his part, under the high guidance of a *belief*, and not from the vague promptings of an impulse?

Congress meets to-morrow, too. Congress two years ago (how natural these comparisons run together) repudiated the acts of John Brown, and sought alike to reject or to smother, or to ignore their legitimate sequence. Congress to-morrow will begin to undo all that. Its first act will be to vote money and men to maintain the struggle which he commenced. The President (the office never dies, you know, and will not, though a dozen Buchanans may endeavor to commit suicide) will recommend a high mausoleum to the memory of the man who died on the scaffold. Not, indeed, in direct terms will he say, "Build a shaft to the memory of John Brown." That were too direct even for the blunt directness of honest Abe. But, nevertheless, he will say it, and the Congress will sanction by its vote the recommendation of the Executive.

To-morrow, too, the great Secretaries will send to Congress their reports. The privy seal will be attached to each, and each will have the prestige and sanction of the Administration—of the government, of the nation. And of each there will be little else than a contribution to the monument that the nation is erecting over the moldering remains of a man—a monument that threatens to be so broad at its base, so towering in height and so majestic in its proportions, as to obliterate even the memory of the man, and to become the memorial of itself rather than of the mortal being and the events from which it had its birth. Secretary Cameron will lay the corner-stone of the structure in the declaration that this war we are waging for a National existence shall crush the insects that have been eating out the vitals of our system. Secretary Chase will bring to its increase a vast pile of debt—a debt that posterity must incur as a penalty for the sins of their ancestors. Secretary Seward must add the records of State, to show how fatally we have erred and how long and patient must be our atonement. The tribute of Secretary Smith will be to transfer the untold millions of acres of the public domain to the thousands upon thousands whose money are among the archives of his bureau. Secretary Blair will furnish to the towering mass the violated sanctity of his department—trusts violated to preserve the remnant of freedom we yet enjoy. Around the base Secretary Welles will group the shattered hulks of our once all-pervading commerce, and, above all, Secretary Bates will wave the black banner of martial law, beneath which Justice and Personal Rights have been smothered, or, for a time, forgotten. Who, two years ago, saw through the driving sleet that swept past the funeral cortège of John Brown, and had a vision of this huge pile towering over the peaks of the Adirondack, penetrating the clouds, its pinnacle lost in the vapor and mists whence came the sleet down upon the rude coffin and the simple mound that enclosed and covered the silent anticipator of the future? Not many, indeed, could see as he saw, and hear as he heard. Few in numbers and weak in position were they then. They were prudent to pay their tribute to the dead amid the wild and repelling solitudes where he had grown strong in faith, and whence he had gone forth to give to the world the example of a high trust and a mortal sacrifice such as the world has rarely witnessed. *They* were forward then—they are laggards now; for the world has grasped their thoughts, and forgotten them. Even the politicians that disclaimed, and shrugged their shoulders, and sneaked away in the dark aisles of noncommittalism, have passed by the measures of two years ago, and now move at the head of the procession. They are filling the Capitol—they have swept away prejudices, and fears, and uncertainties, and have come out foremost among the foremost. They do not shrink away now, as of old, at the mention of a name; they do not scruple at the pronouncement of a cause, nor tremble at the prospect of a result. After all, how strong, how impulsive, how effective, was the blow of the gray-haired man—how his eagle eye spanned the illimitable realms of space, and saw its distance melting away before his self-sacrificing spirit. Who, hereafter, will say that a life is wasted, because an immortal spirit is launched into eternity? Life is not merely a physical existence—death is not always an eternal sleep.

"Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not written of the soul."

—*N. Y. Times.*

RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT.—How many illuminations of celestial origin come to all in sincere hours! Are these inspirations to be subjected to the authority of any tribunal? All expression of *will* by bodies and individuals that others should think as they do is tyranny. Numbers have no more right than a single person to enforce doctrine. They are each and all fallible, and are bound to special caution lest they should exert an influence over each other unfriendly to impartiality. A community so bound to opinion as to abandon a man, and to be unjust to his character, who questions it, is a persecutor as much as if it used legal penalties.—*Channing.*

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